

BENJAMIN INGRAHAM, LOYALIST:

A CASE STUDY

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation is a study of the impact of the American Revolution on a common man. Benjamin Ingraham, a fifth-generation American, was a farmer in King's District, New York, a Loyalist soldier. He fought for seven years in the King's American Regiment and migrated with others of the Provincial Regiments in the autumn of 1783 to what later became the Province of New Brunswick. He settled with his wife and two children on a farm in the lower end of St. Ann's (present-day Fredericton); he worked on this farm and on additional land in Queensbury until his death in 1810.

At the beginning of the Revolution Benjamin Ingraham owned a ninety-acre farm in King's District, about twenty miles south-east of Albany near the Massachusetts border. A study of the circumstances and events leading to the polarization of the two political factions in the community up to 1776 indicates that the final individual choice of sides was largely a personal one. Such considerations as the land

question, religious affiliation, and kinship and friendship patterns appear to have been factors in varying degrees but not the decisive ones; this conclusion is based upon the fact that two of the Ingraham brothers were Loyalists, two Patriots, a split not uncommon among families in King's District. Choice of sides was the result of the combination of particular circumstances with personal characteristics.

Benjamin Ingraham and his brother Abijah fought with their Regiment in five provinces ranging from Rhode Island to Georgia. Both enlisted as privates and were discharged as sergeants. Both had their farms confiscated along with most of their personal property. Benjamin's wife Jerusha paid rent to remain on their farm, where she cared for the children and suffered from over-work, worry, and the hostility of Patriot neighbours. Benjamin returned for his family in late summer, 1783.

They sailed from New York to the mouth of the River St. John, camped there for a time, and then proceeded upstream to St. Ann's, arriving there in October. They tented until Benjamin erected a rude cabin in which they suffered from cold and hunger through the bitter winter of 1783-1784. There they established a home on two hundred acres of land which they improved and farmed. Benjamin sold produce, worked for others, built bridges, and prospered. He and Jerusha had two more children. They acquired land in Queensbury until they owned a total of more than 1200 acres (Abijah acquired

more than 5000). Benjamin died in 1810 leaving his family well provided for. His two sons settled in Queensbury.

The experience of Benjamin Ingraham as an American Loyalist is not necessarily typical. He, like others, was forced to choose sides, he enlisted, he fought in several provinces, he became a refugee, he made a new life in British North America. But he, like Abijah, acquired more land than most, and he, like Abijah too, seems to have done better materially than his Patriot brothers. One of the latter remained in King's District, but his children and the other and their sister were caught up in the wave of migration into western New York State. The Loyalist brothers probably would have done the same had they not participated in the northeastern migratory movement. Descendants of all the King's District Ingrahams, Loyalist and Patriot alike, formed part of the influx of settlers into the American West. It is difficult to see, hardships notwithstanding, that Benjamin Ingraham lost anything by being a Loyalist--in fact, the reverse seems closer to the truth.

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PREFACE

When I first became interested in the United Empire Loyalists some forty years ago, serious studies of their activities and the implications of their arrival in British North America were not in vogue among historians. Three years as a young teacher in a rural school in the parish of Queensbury, about twenty-five miles from Fredericton, a neighbourhood peopled mainly by descendants of the Loyalists, served as an excellent general introduction to the subject, a subject upon which one could find very little reading material. More specific was my acquaintance with the late Harry L. Ingraham, afterwards to become my father-in-law; his enthusiasm while recounting anecdotes about his Loyalist ancestors as he conducted me about the big house built by his great-grandfather, Ira Ingraham, was contagious. The highlight of every such tour was a visit to the attic which housed his collection of antiques, including the sword and diary of Sergeant Benjamin Ingraham of the King's American Regiment, his great-great-grandfather. The whole conception of what it must have been like for an ordinary farmer to fight in an eighteenth-century war, of what must have transpired in the community in which he lived (at the time I did not even know where it was), of the suffering and sacrifices of the family

both in leaving their old home and getting settled in their new one, enthralled me.

Upon my return to university after discharge from the service at the conclusion of World War II I developed a keen interest in Canadian history, largely as the result of my association with Dr. Alfred G. Bailey at the University of New Brunswick. This interest was further strengthened during a period of graduate study under Dr. Arthur R. M. Lower at Queen's University, but even so my curiosity about the United Empire Loyalists still remained almost completely unsatisfied. It was not until my retirement from a career in Montreal in teaching and educational administration in 1975 that I was at last impelled to undertake some serious work on the Loyalists. At that time I enrolled as a doctoral student in history at Concordia University and embarked upon the studies leading up to this dissertation, which I hope will complement the substantial number of theses and monographs which have been written on various phases of the Loyalist experience during the last two decades.

I have received much help in my endeavour, for which I am more than grateful. Concordia University teaching assistantships and a Canada Council Doctoral Fellowship proved an invaluable aid in meeting monetary expenses. My thesis adviser, Dr. Robin B. Burns, has been generous of his time, unsparing and constructive in his criticism, and helpful in his encouragement. Dr. Robert Wall also read my manuscript

and provided valuable suggestions, particularly on the chapters dealing with the Thirteen Colonies.

I wish to acknowledge my debt to the staffs of the institutions which provided material for my research, particularly the libraries at Concordia, McGill, and Queen's Universities, the Public Archives of Canada, the Public Archives of New Brunswick, the University of New Brunswick Archives, the Brome County Museum at Knowlton, Quebec, the New York State Library at Albany, and the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress in Washington. Particularly I wish to thank Mrs. Mary Thomas, librarian at the House of History at Kinderhook, N.Y., Mrs. Martha Lagerwal, town clerk of Canaan, N.Y., and, above all, Mrs. Kathryn Burgess, town historian of Chatham, N.Y.; these three provided invaluable assistance in my investigation of life in King's District during the American Revolution.

I wish to acknowledge also the interest shown by many friends and relatives in my project, and I would be remiss indeed if I did not mention in particular the encouragement and direction I have received from Dr. George Ashman of Kingston. Finally, I owe a debt of gratitude to the great great great granddaughter of Benjamin Ingraham, my wife, Faith Ingraham Thomas, without whose continued encouragement, unstinting criticism, and patient forbearance this dissertation could never have been written.

Earle Thomas
Kingston, Ontario
August, 1979

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

"The United Empire Loyalists," remarked W. Stewart Wallace in 1914, "have suffered a strange fate at the hands of historians. It is not too much to say that, for nearly a century their history was written by their enemies."¹ He might have added that the treatment they received from their friends, notably their descendants in Canada, was equally remarkable, albeit for a different reason. Friend and foe alike, at least up to that date, had shown a marked inclination towards bias in their accounts of the American opponents of the Revolution.

Charges that the Loyalists were neglected in historical writing for over a hundred years notwithstanding, there were a good many writers who had something to say about them. As Wallace Brown pointed out, "although they [were] outgunned in the historiographical battle just as they were in the propaganda and shooting battles in the Revolution, there was considerable and often good contemporary published history,"

¹W. Stewart Wallace, The United Empire Loyalists (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Co., 1914), p. 1.

much of it with fair comment on the Loyalists.² Nineteenth century historians, with a few notable exceptions, however, either attacked the Loyalists or ignored them. George Bancroft, whose history of the United States was mainly an account of the growth of liberty, disregarded the Loyalists because there was no place for them in his Whig interpretation of the American Revolution.³ Others were hostile in their treatment of the hated Tories; they seemed to agree with John Adams, who "would have hanged [his] own brother had he taken part with our enemy in the contest" and with Abigail Adams, who had commented on the Loyalist sufferings in Halifax in 1776, "Just Heaven has given to them to taste of the same cup of affliction which they . . . administered to thousands of their fellow citizens . . ."⁴ These nineteenth century historians failed to see Loyalism as a vital and integral part of the Revolution, as the other side of the coin. It seemed to them that the Loyalists left because they were "children of the devil"; Canadian writers of the period.

²Wallace Brown, "The View at Two Hundred Years: The Loyalists of the American Revolution," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society (Washington: n.p., 1970), p. 26. He cites Hewatt, Proud, Stedman, Hutchinson, Moody, Boucher, Galloway, Chalmers, Leonard, Peters, David Ramsay, and Alexander Graydon.

³See Edmund S. Morgan, "The American Revolution: A Review of Changing Interpretations," Proceedings of the American Historical Association (1958): 1-21.

⁴See L. H. Butterfield and others, eds., The Adams Papers: Diary and Autobiography of John Adams (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 1: 390.

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believed them to have been "following the Lord."⁵

Canadian historians of this era regarded their Loyalist ancestors with uncritical veneration. "They came to this land," Chancellor Burwash of Victoria College informed us, "leaving comfortable homes, the graves of their fathers, the associations of their childhood, the wealth accumulated by years of industry; and went forth to face discomfort and poverty and suffering and want for the sake of their principles."⁶ A. G. Bradley, James Hannay, William Kingsford, Egerton Ryerson, and W. Stewart Wallace all tended towards the heroic view of the Loyalists.⁷

These Canadian historians identified with the Loyalists in their beliefs, sentiments, and attitudes towards Britain, certain members of the British Government, and the Rebels. While intensely loyal themselves, these writers felt impelled at times to criticize certain of those in authority. Hannay saw George III as a "dull-witted and obstinate monarch"

⁵Brown, "The View at Two Hundred Years," pp. 26-29.

⁶Nathaniel Burwash, "The Moral Character of the U. E. Loyalists," The United Empire Loyalist Association of Ontario, Annual Transactions for the years ending March, 1901, and March, 1902 (Toronto: 1903), p. 59.

⁷A[rrthur] G. Bradley, The United Empire Loyalists: Founders of British Canada (London: Thornton Butterworth, 1932); James Hannay, History of New Brunswick, vol. 1 (Saint John: John A. Bowes, 1909); William Kingsford, The History of Canada, 10 volumes (Toronto: Rowell & Hutchinson, 1894), 3; Egerton Ryerson, The Loyalists of America and Their Times, 2 volumes (Toronto: 1880; reprint ed., New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1970); W. Stewart Wallace, The United Empire Loyalists, Makers of Canada, vol. 13 (Toronto: Glasgow, Brook & Co., 1914).

who had managed to reduce his great country to "a most miserable condition."⁸ General Howe, said Bradley, was "a Whig, with strong American sympathies, who . . . lost the war by slackness or bad faith."⁹ Bradley found nothing good to say about either Germain or Burgoyne. But, at the same time, all were in agreement that King and Parliament were in principle in the right and the Rebels were a misguided, perfidious, greedy lot, misled by a few unscrupulous agitators like Sam Adams, "a demagogue of the extreme type, well-equipped for the part by narrow experience, an incapacity for business, and a vitriolic facility of pen and tongue."¹⁰ Ryerson cited the expulsion of the Loyalists as the only case of its kind among civilized nations.¹¹ Wallace saw the Revolution as the result, not of any flaws in the British political, economic, social, or colonial system, but, as Leckie did, of the work of "an energetic minority" who managed to lead the unsuspecting majority down a one-way street to rebellion.¹²

These historians were in agreement, too, that the refugees had brought with them their intense loyalty, their love of the British constitution, their commitment to the

⁸Hannay, History of New Brunswick, 1: 125.

⁹Bradley, The United Empire Loyalists: Founders of British Canada, p. 58.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 53.

¹¹Ryerson, The Loyalists of America and Their Times, 2: 183.

¹²Wallace, The United Empire Loyalists, passim.

Empire, their high political ideals, and their dislike of the "disloyal" Americans. These latter in 1812 had had the effrontery and temerity to pursue their victims across the border, but "the Loyalists fought with resolve that stemmed the invasion of Canada and made it irrevocably British."¹³ Hannay remarked that "the lesson taught the presumptuous invaders was one that has not been forgotten to the present day."¹⁴ The invaders driven off, it then became possible to get down to the business of building a second British community in North America.

Twentieth century historians, in both Canada and the United States, have taken a wider and more detached, and consequently more objective, view of the Loyalists and their activities. As a result, in the last two decades the Loyalist question is at last beginning to occupy its rightful place in the historical writing of both countries. In the United States there appeared such general works as Wallace Brown's The King's Friends (1965) and The Good Americans (1969), William H. Nelson's The American Tory (1961), Catherine S. Crary's The Price of Loyalty (1973), and Robert M. Calhoun's The Loyalists in Revolutionary America, 1760-1781 (1973). Mary Beth Norton has described the fate of the Loyalist expatriates in England in The British Americans (1972), and Paul

¹³Bradley, The United Empire Loyalists: Founders of British Canada, p. 298.

¹⁴James Hannay, A History of the War of 1812, (Toronto: Morang & Co., 1905), p. 21.

H. Smith's Loyalists and Redcoats (1964) and North Callahan's Royal Raiders (1963) have given us some insight into the part played by the Loyalists in the actual fighting. Few biographies have been written on eminent Tories, certainly none of the distinction of Bernard Bailyn's poignant and sensitive The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson (1974). A few histories have appeared on the parts played by Loyalists in particular states; worthy of mention is Rick J. Ashton's unpublished doctoral dissertation "The Loyalist Experience in New York, 1763-1789" (1973).¹⁵ In addition there has been an abundance of articles on various aspects of Loyalism in American periodicals. In short, much has been written in the last couple of decades, but much remains to be done.¹⁵

Less has been published in Canada on the history of the Loyalists. Modern historians, of course, mention them in their general histories of the country, but few have much to

¹⁵Wallace Brown, The Good Americans (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1969); Wallace Brown, The King's Friends (Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1965); William H. Nelson, The American Tory (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961); Catherine S. Crary, ed., The Price of Glory: Tory Writings from the Revolution (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1973); Robert McCluer Calhoun, The Loyalists in Revolutionary America, 1760-1781 (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973); Mary Beth Norton, The British Americans: The Loyalist Exiles in England, 1774-1789 (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1972); Paul H. Smith, Loyalists and Redcoats: A Study in British Revolutionary Policy (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964); North Callahan, Royal Raiders: The Tories of the American Revolution (New York: Bobbs Merrill, 1963); Bernard Bailyn, The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1974); Rick J. Ashton, "The Loyalist Experience in New York, 1763-1789" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Northwestern University, 1973).

say about them; moreover, there seems to be little agreement on the significance of their arrival and subsequent contributions to the development of the nation. Donald Creighton saw their coming as the second factor in the revolution of the lower Great Lakes; they brought settlement, agriculture, and production for export into the heart of the primitive fur-trading state. Regarding their contribution to the development of Canada he said very little. J. M. S. Careless, Ramsay Cook, and W. L. Morton told us little more about the Loyalists beyond the facts that they brought with them their anti-American, pro-British, conservative outlook and that the immediate results of their coming were the founding of two new provinces and the guarantee that British North America was not to remain solely French. J. B. Brebner saw the Loyalist movement merely as part of the great American migration, and Edgar McInnis seemed quite unimpressed by the contribution of the Loyalists in his few pages on them. Arthur Lower, on the other hand, noted the significance of the Loyalist legacy in the formation of the character of modern Canada. "Canada today," he wrote, "partly owing to the original Loyalist conception, is strongly monarchical in sentiment and as strongly republican in practice."¹⁶

¹⁶Donald Creighton, Dominion of the North (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1944); Donald Creighton, The Empire of the St. Lawrence (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1956); J. M[aurice] S. Careless, Canada: A Story of Challenge (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1953); Ramsay Cook, Canada: A Modern Study (Toronto: Clarke,

As one would expect, the Loyalists play a much more important role in the histories of the regions where they originally settled. They are very much in evidence in A. L. Burt's The Old Province of Québec and Gerald M. Craig's Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841. W. Stewart MacNutt, however, had perhaps more to say about the Loyalists than any of his contemporary regional historians. In The Atlantic Provinces and New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867 the Loyalists come alive--they appear neither as villainous traitors nor sanctimonious heroes, merely as mortals with all the virtues and faults characteristic of mankind. Dissension had broken out among them before they left New York, dissension which they brought along with them. Intensely politically conscious, they had argued with their Whig neighbours before the Revolution and during the War they had criticized British military policy, the generals' conduct of military operations, and the Whig policy of surrender during the peace negotiations.¹⁷

Irwin, & Company Limited, 1963); W[illiam] L. Morton, The Kingdom of Canada (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, Limited, 1963); John Bartlet Brebner, Canada: A Modern Study (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1963); John Bartlet Brebner, North Atlantic Triangle (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945); Edgar McInnis, Canada: A Political and Social History (New York: Rinehart & Co., Incorporated, 1947); Arthur R. M. Lower, Colony to Nation (Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co., 1946).

¹⁷ A[lfred] L[eroy] Burt, The Old Province of Québec (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1933); Gerald M. Craig, Upper Canada: The Formative Years, 1784-1841 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited, 1963); W. Stewart MacNutt, The Atlantic Provinces: The Emergence of Colonial Society, 1712-1857 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited, 1965); W. Stewart MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867 (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1963).

MacNutt's books, however, were studies, not merely of Loyalists, but of the history of Atlantic Canada in the one case and of New Brunswick in the other. It was left to Esther Clark Wright to look at the problem of the Loyalists themselves in The Loyalists of New Brunswick, an interesting, vivid, and well-documented book containing a wealth of information.¹⁸ Even though her ancestors were Loyalists, Professor Wright made no attempt to glorify either them or their associates; she presented the facts as she found them in her painstaking research. New Brunswick's American refugees of 1783 appeared to her as they did to Stewart MacNutt and Wallace Brown. The latter described them as

anything but docile Tories: Rather they were rambunctious Americans, quarrelling with the pre-Loyalists, rioting during the first election in Saint John in 1785, and, in typically optimistic fashion, founded the present University of New Brunswick the same year in the capital, Fredericton, concomitantly with settling down in the wilderness. . . . They presented an American society in New Brunswick, a loyal but not subservient American society.¹⁹

With the exception of L. F. S. Upton's volume in the Issues in Canadian History series there exists no comprehensive book on the Loyalists of Canada, nor of any province except New Brunswick. A few unpublished doctoral theses, however, are worthy of note to the student of the subject.

¹⁸ Esther Clark Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick (Fredericton: The Author, 1955).

¹⁹ Wallace Brown, "Escape from the Republic: The Dispersal of the American Loyalists," History Today 22 (1972): 98.

Ann Gorman Condon has made a real contribution to our understanding of the Loyalists in New Brunswick in her "'The Envy of the American States': The Settlement of the Loyalists in New Brunswick: Goals and Achievements." Invaluable, too, is Neil MacKinnon's "The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia, 1783-1791" to the student of Loyalist history in either Nova Scotia or New Brunswick. Both Condon and MacKinnon have contributed useful articles on the Loyalists to Canadian periodicals, as have such other historians as T. W. Acheson, Murray Barkley, David V. J. Bell, Wallace Brown, Margaret Ellis, Jo-Ann Fellows, Robert Fellows, A. E. Morrison, and W. G. Shelton. A start has been made in Canada, but, as in the United States, much remains to be written.²⁰

²⁰ Leslie F. S. Upton, ed., The United Empire Loyalists: Men and Myths, Issues in Canadian History (Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Company, 1967); Ann Gorman Condon, "'The Envy of the American States': The Settlement of the Loyalists in New Brunswick: Goals and Achievements" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1975); Neil MacKinnon, "The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia, 1783-1791" (Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Queen's University, 1974); Thomas W. Acheson, "A Study in the Historical Demography of a Loyalist County," Social History 1 (April 1968): 53-65; Murray Barkley, "The Loyalist Tradition in New Brunswick: The Growth and Evolution of an Historical Myth, 1825-1914," Acadiensis 4 (Spring 1975): 3-25; David V. J. Bell, "The Loyalists: The First American Expatriates," University of Windsor Review 7-8 (1971-1973): 62-77; David V. J. Bell, "The Loyalist Tradition in Canada," Journal of Canadian Studies 5 (May 1979): 22-33; Wallace Brown, "Escape from the Republic: The Dispersal of the American Loyalists," History Today 22 (1972): 94-102; Wallace Brown, "The 'Loyal' American Tories in the Revolution," American History Illustrated 79 (1972): 36-43; Wallace Brown, "The View at Two Hundred Years: The Loyalists in the American Revolution," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society (Washington: n.p., 1970): 25-47; Wallace Brown, "The American Farmer during the Revolution: Rebel or Loyalist?" Agricultural History 42 (1968): 327-338;

To date, the common man in the American Revolution, whether Loyalist or Patriot, has largely been neglected. It is the generals and governors, the politicians and councillors, the judges, the merchants, the professors, the thinkers, who make the decisions, influence the mob, frame the laws, lead the troops, and keep order among the populace. It is they who express the ideas, make the speeches, write the diaries and letters, draw up the statutes, compose all that comprises the historical records, the stuff of history. Consequently, it is they, the upper class, the educated class, the leaders who provide material for the archives. But it takes more than leaders to make a revolution, to change the course of history--every leader must have his followers in the ranks or his cause is lost. Perhaps it is time we looked more closely at the role played in the drama of history by the ordinary men and women.

That is not to say that we neglect them completely; in writing history we must pay them some little attention. We cannot look at George Washington or Sir Henry Clinton

Wallace Brown, "Negroes in the American Revolution," History Today 14 (August 1964): 556-563; Margaret Ells, "Loyalist Attitudes," Dalhousie Review 15 (October 1935): 320-334; reprinted in George A. Rawlyk, ed., Historical Essays on the Atlantic Provinces (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1968); Jo-Ann Fellows, "The Loyalist Myth in Canada," Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers (1971): 94-111; Robert Fellows, "The Loyalists and Land Settlement in New Brunswick," Canadian Archivist 2 (1971): 5-16; A. E. Morrison, "New Brunswick: The Loyalists and the Historians," Journal of Canadian Studies 3 (1969): 39-49; W. G. Shelton, "The United Empire Loyalists: A Reconsideration," Dalhousie Review 45 (1965): 5-15.

without being somewhat conscious of the soldiers who fought under them. We cannot consider Thomas Hutchinson or Thomas Tryon without being aware of the existence of those whom they governed. We must have some concern for the effect that the thoughts of a Thomas Paine, a Samuel Adams, or a Samuel Seabury might have on the general populace. We pick up Patricia Bonomi's A Fictious People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York or John Shy's A People Numerous and Armed, and we suspect that we have at last a book about the ordinary man on the farm. But, admirable works of history that they are, we discover very soon, however, that here again we are reading about the Livingstons, the DeLanceys, the Schuylers, the Gages, the Howes, and the Lees and their effect on the thoughts and actions of the common people. The common man is secondary--no where does he come first.²¹

The whole question of the common man in the American Revolution has been dismissed with a few articles, such as Jesse Lemisch's "Jack Tar in the Streets: Merchant Seamen in the Politics of Revolutionary America" and a few studies of the nature of Robert E. Brown's Middle Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780 or Benjamin Quarles' The Negro in the American Revolution. Again these are studies of a large group--the negroes, the merchant seamen, the middle

²¹Patricia U. Bonomi, A Fictious People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971); John Shy, A People Numerous & Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

class of Massachusetts. No study has been made of the impact of the Revolution on the ordinary citizen from his point of view--the decisions demanded of him, the change in his life-style, the conditions of his life as a soldier, and, in the case of the Loyalist, the details and trauma of his exile, the problems involved in adapting to his new environment.²²

This thesis proposes to study the problems of an ordinary American Loyalist through the examination of the life of one particular man--Benjamin Ingraham. Hopefully, it will provide some insight into the difficulties he faced in the choice of sides, the alienation of friends, relatives, and neighbours, the anxiety over his wife and children while he adjusted to the rigours of army life, the bitterness of leaving a comfortable home to face exile in a remote wilderness, and the sweat and toil of carving a place for himself and his family on the New Brunswick frontier.

At the outbreak of the American Revolution Benjamin Ingraham was a farmer in New Concord, King's District, Albany County, New York. Living with him on his ninety-acre farm were his wife, the former Jerusha Barrett of New Concord, and his two young children, Hannah and John. The Ingrahams could not be considered one of the "principal" families in King's

²²Jesse Lemisch, "Jack Tar in the Streets: Merchant Seamen in the Politics of Revolutionary America," William and Mary Quarterly 25 (1968): 371-407; Robert E. Brown, Middle Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780 (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1955); Benjamin Quarles, The Negro in the American Revolution (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961).

District, yet they played an active part in the affairs of the community. Benjamin's father, a cooper by trade, served a term as poor master in the District and several as warden in the New Concord Anglican Church. Benjamin himself, until the eve of the Revolution, appears to have been preoccupied with getting himself established in life; by 1776, however, he was deeply involved in the partisan strife in King's District.

A study of the life of a man in a humble station of life at once poses a major problem. Where does one find the necessary information? There are no volumes of his correspondence, or his sermons, or his memoirs. Contemporaries have not taken the trouble to mention him by name in newspaper accounts, their correspondence and memoirs, government documents, reports, and the like; he is merely one of the unnamed multitude of followers. What Philip J. Greven, Jr. had to say about the sources for family history in towns like eighteenth-century Andover applies equally here.

On the whole, these are disparate, intractable, tedious to acquire, difficult to decipher, and only partially intact. Their story is not revealed easily, and certainly from their surface. . . . The experience often is like trying to put together a complex picture puzzle when no directions exist and many of the crucial pieces are missing.²³

Fortunately, two valuable documents relevant to the

²³Philip J. Greven, Jr., Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1970).

life of Benjamin Ingraham do exist. One is his brief journal or diary, in characteristic eighteenth-century handwriting and spelling, which he kept while a soldier in the King's American Regiment. This diary, with many of the pages missing and the remainder in disorder, was found by his descendant, Harry L. Ingraham, in the attic of the Ingraham house in Queensbury, New Brunswick in the early 1920s. The other is the reminiscences of Benjamin Ingraham's daughter Hannah, who came to New Brunswick at age eleven in 1783 with her parents and lived to be ninety-seven years old. These were recorded by the wife of the Reverend W. H. Tippet in the middle of the nineteenth century as recounted by Hannah from her memory, which seems to have been vivid and prodigious. As a source Hannah Ingraham's account has proven to be generally reliable; occasionally her dates are somewhat confused, but the incidents and anecdotes check either with history or with contemporary prejudice, whichever is appropriate. The few anecdotes which cannot be substantiated are of no historical significance other than to add colour to the narrative.

In writing family history one must also consult the findings of genealogists, and again fortunately the Ingraham family has been the object of considerable genealogical research. Of great value were the Ingraham genealogical papers in the Library of Congress in Washington. John Benjamin Nichol's Notes on the Ingraham Genealogy and several articles in periodicals such as the National Genealogical Society Quarterly and the American Genealogist proved very

helpful.²⁴ However, the genealogical records are not as complete as one might wish; consequently, it was necessary in studying the family background to resort to all sorts of other records--land papers, probate records, church records, census reports. The researcher is at a distinct disadvantage in the State of New York as a result of the fire in Albany in 1911 which completely destroyed so many records and mutilated others so that only fragments remain.

Land papers were a useful source in New Brunswick also, as were the records of wills, births, deaths, and marriages. Petitions for land as well as deeds of transfer often provided details which otherwise would have been missing. The diaries and records of others who came in contact with the Ingrahams were useful in filling in gaps, as were the reports of the missionaries in King's District, Fredericton, and Queensbury to the Society for the Propagation of the

²⁴ John Benjamin Nichols, Notes on the Ingraham Genealogy (Washington: Kates & Andrews, 1898); John Benjamin Nichols, "Benjamin and Abijah Ingraham, Loyalists of New York and New Brunswick," National Genealogical Society Quarterly 35 (1946-1947): 35-39; John Benjamin Nichols, "Family Record by Benjamin Ingraham (1748-1810)," National Genealogical Society Quarterly 25 (1936-1937): 61; John Benjamin Nichols, "Notes on Richard Ingraham of Rehoboth, Massachusetts, 1643," American Genealogist 21 (1945): 190-191; Donald Lines Jacobus, "Early Ingraham Families of New England," American Genealogist 19 (1942-1944): 77-90; James Savage, "A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, Showing Three Generations of Those Who Came before May 1692, on the Basis of Farmer's Register" (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1969); James W. Arnold, Vital Records of Rehoboth, 1642-1896 (Naragansett, R.I.: Naragansett Historical Publishing Company, 1897); Charles Henry Pope, Pioneers of Massachusetts (Boston: The Author, 1900); Ingraham Genealogical Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

Gospel. New York and New Brunswick newspapers often provided facts unavailable elsewhere, as did the papers of a few well-known contemporaries such as Edward Winslow and Ward Chipman in New Brunswick and certain army officers in the Thirteen Colonies during the War. Finally, travellers' accounts furnished interesting and useful information on events and conditions in the regions under discussion.

Consequently, while there existed no neat and concise body of Ingraham papers to refer to for information, there were to be found scattered and disparate bits and pieces which could be put together to create a fairly clear impression of the life and times of Benjamin Ingraham. However, many questions remain unanswered--the keys to their answers have disappeared from the earth forever. Herein lies the major problem in writing the history of a common man.

There can be no doubt that the American Revolution wrought a profound change in the life of Benjamin Ingraham. There can be no doubt either that his decision to adhere to the King's cause was the turning point in his career, the decision which altered his life. It was his resolution to serve the Loyalist cause which led him to enlist in the Provincial Forces, which made him and his family the objects of loathing and persecution by their Patriot neighbours, which finally forced them into exile in New Brunswick. Had Ingraham chosen the other course, he might merely have signed up in the local militia as his two younger brothers did and got by with a minimum of fighting. He might have spent most of the

War years in New Concord with his family; certainly, he would have been able to retain his material possessions and the respect of his Patriot neighbours; he would never have experienced the bitterness of expatriation nor the hardship of that first winter in Fredericton.

But nothing is to be gained by dwelling upon what might have been; the fact is, Benjamin Ingraham did become a Loyalist and therefore was forced to suffer the consequences of his decision. The first question to be considered, then, is how and why he made his particular choice. Why was he not a Patriot? In the second chapter the situation in King's District from 1765 to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War will be examined in the context of what was happening in other parts of the Thirteen Colonies. As late as 1775 all the citizens in King's District were loyal, and for a time after only a minority were against King and Parliament. What then caused the majority to switch sides? What caused the polarization which became so marked and obvious in 1776? What induced Benjamin and Abijah Ingraham to remain loyal while their brothers, Samuel and John, gave their support to the Patriot cause? Did the Ingraham brothers make conscious choices, or did they merely drift with the tide of individual circumstances until they reached a point of no return?

Benjamin Ingraham's seven years in the King's American Regiment will be examined in the third chapter. It appears that once committed to the Loyalist cause, he had no option but to join the Provincials; otherwise, he would have

languished in a Patriot prison, more than likely the Simsbury Mines in Connecticut, until he saw the error of his ways and took an oath to support the American cause. He enlisted in Colonel Fanning's Regiment as a private soldier and soon was promoted to corporal, then to sergeant, the highest rank it was possible for him to attain, since he had neither the money nor the social standing to become an officer. The question of the sort of life, the conditions of warfare, an ordinary soldier could expect will be examined here, and how it all appeared to Benjamin Ingraham, as per the entries in his journal.

While Benjamin was away, his wife Jerusha remained at home with their two children, Hannah and John. What were the conditions of life for the family of a "traitor" to the American cause while he was not there to protect them? Does Jerusha's experience prove the accuracy of the "Loyalist myth" that the Patriots vented their anger and vindictiveness on the families of their enemies? Was the property actually confiscated? If so, what happened then to the dispossessed family? The fourth chapter attempts to answer such questions by an examination of relevant events in King's District and the experiences of Jerusha and the children while Benjamin was absent in the army.

The fifth chapter considers the conditions of the Ingrahams' departure for New Brunswick, the trip, their arrival, and their first winter there. No where do we find any statement from Benjamin himself as to his actual reason for

abandoning his home in New Concord. He never states in any documents extant whether he left because of his principles or simply because he could not stay. Actual events, however, suggest the answer. Several other questions are considered. Does the first winter of the Ingrahams in New Brunswick support the Loyalist legend of the awful suffering borne by the refugees? How did their neighbours at St. Anne's fare? Did they actually receive from the Government all the help they were reputed to have received? Were they victims of disorganization and graft among the officials? The fact is, the Ingrahams did survive, while there were those who did not. How did Benjamin and his family manage to cope with the situation?

The sixth chapter covers the years from 1784 to 1789, the period during which the Ingrahams were getting settled in the town of Fredericton, the newly established capital of the province. Two more children were born to Benjamin and Jerusha, Ira in 1785 and Ann in 1789. Benjamin put in a claim to the Commission for inquiring into the Losses and Services of the American Loyalists and went to Saint John to press that claim in person. A number of other questions are examined. How did the Loyalists go about getting their land grants? Was it a simple process or were there bureaucratic inefficiencies? Was it easy to purchase land? How did Benjamin and Abijah Ingraham fare in their attempts to acquire more land? How did the provisioning system work? What was the situation in regard to schools, church, government, crime, justice on this

particular frontier? What sort of relations existed between the Loyalists and the Indians? What interest did these former Loyalist soldiers show in serving in the militia of New Brunswick? In short, what were the conditions of life in and about Fredericton in the first five or six years when Benjamin Ingraham and the other Loyalists were getting themselves established?

By 1789 Benjamin Ingraham was fairly well settled in New Brunswick; the seventh chapter attempts to demonstrate just how much of a success this Loyalist from New York made of his life. How much land did he acquire before his death in 1810? Was he typical in his success in this respect? How did he finance his land acquisitions? Are there other indications that he made a success of his life in New Brunswick? Did he leave his family well provided for?

The Epilogue first looks at the land acquisitions between 1810 and 1830 of Benjamin Ingraham's sons and those of Abijah Ingraham and his sons. An attempt is made, too, to compare the fortunes of the two Loyalist Ingraham brothers with those of their Patriot brothers, Samuel and John, who remained in the State of New York. While the results indicate that the two Loyalists made the greater material success of their lives, there are no historical documents with which to measure happiness.

"The loyalist tradition began," wrote Carl Berger, "as did all myths of national origin, with the assertion that the founders of British Canada were God's chosen

people."²⁵ The "Loyalist myth" is made up of several other components,--the affirmation that they came to British North America "for the sake of their principles," the legend of their social prominence in the Thirteen Colonies, of their unflagging devotion to the King, the Empire, and the British system of government, of their uncompromising anti-Americanism, and of their intense suffering as the result of their adherence to their principles.²⁶ Loyalist refugees, of course, did not view themselves in such a hallowed light--they were much too preoccupied with their struggle for survival. It was among their children that the "myth" first made its appearance, suggested in New Brunswick in 1825 in Peter Fisher's Sketches of New Brunswick, the first history of the province; it continued to grow until 1914, by which time this heroic image of the Loyalists was firmly established among their descendants.

There are others, however, who have taken quite a different view of the arrival of the American refugees. Writers who have been influenced by certain aspects of the frontier thesis of American history insist that the coming of the Loyalists was merely another phase of the great migration

²⁵Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 99.

²⁶Murray Barkley, "The Loyalist Tradition in New Brunswick: The Growth and Evolution of an Historical Myth, 1825-1914," Acadiensis 4 (Spring 1975): 3-45; Jo-Ann Fellows, "The Loyalist Myth in Canada," Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers (1971): 94-111.

which finally peopled the whole of the North American continent. The American Revolution, according to them, was only an interruption in the flow of settlers to the northeast which was bound to occur anyway, and which had already started.

This dissertation tests the validity of both these theories by means of a case study of an ordinary Loyalist, Benjamin Ingraham, who migrated from New York to New Brunswick in 1783. It examines his motives, aspirations, opinions, experiences, sufferings, and successes, and attempts to determine whether he actually was a heroic figure like that of the "myth," motivated only by the highest of principles, or whether he was merely another victim of the violent circumstances of his era. At the same time, it regards his migratory experience and those of other members of his family in the light shed by the remarks of such writers as Marcus Lee Hansen and John Bartlet Brebner on the population movements of Americans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.²⁷ In addition, it is an attempt to cast light on the enormous impact of the American Revolution on ordinary people by an examination of the experience of one common man.

What is true of Benjamin Ingraham is true, at least in some degree, of other American Loyalists who settled in the Maritime Provinces. It is not claimed that he was the typical Loyalist common man, but his experience was undoubtedly

²⁷ Marcus Lee Hansen and John Bartlet Brebner, The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p. 51.

similar to that of thousands of others. Consequently, a case study of the life of this man provides insight into the impact of the American Revolution on the throngs of ordinary men who supported the King.

CHAPTER II

BENJAMIN INGRAHAM: NEW YORK TORY

Benjamin Ingraham was born in Derby, Connecticut on 20 April 1748, a fifth generation American.¹ His great great grandfather had settled in Rehoboth, in present-day Massachusetts, as early as 1638 and was listed as a proprietor there in 1645. Richard Ingraham, as his name was, had three sons, the youngest of whom was called Jared.

Jared Ingraham lived most of his life in Rehoboth and neighbouring Swansea, dying there in 1718. In Boston on 28 May 1662 he had married Rebecca Searles, who bore him twelve children. The ninth of these was a son, Benjamin, born in Rehoboth in 1680.

The first Benjamin Ingraham was married in Rehoboth in 1712 to Patience Ide, who bore him a son Benjamin and died two years later. Soon after, the older Benjamin married Elizabeth Sweet; after giving birth to eight children, Elizabeth, too, died, and Benjamin married a third time. By this time the Ingraham family had moved to Woodbury, Connecticut, where Benjamin made his will in 1766. He died in Goshen, Connecticut in 1775.

¹See Chapter I, Note 24, p. 16.

The second Benjamin Ingraham, son of Benjamin Ingraham and Patience Ide, was born in Rehoboth on 25 August 1714 and moved to Woodbury with his father and step-mother. He became a cooper by trade and married Hannah Tomlinson on 18 February 1742. Their first two children, Hannah and Samuel, were born in Woodbury. In 1745 the young family moved to Derby, Connecticut, about twenty miles away at the mouth of the Housatonic. Here, their son Benjamin was born on 20 April 1748 and Abijah in November of the following year. It was in the autumn of 1751 that tragedy struck. On 14 September six-year-old Samuel died, followed by Hannah and Abijah on the twentieth--three of the four children carried off by some pestilence or other in less than a week. However, their places were soon filled by a second Hannah, born in 1753, a second Abijah, born in 1755, and a second Samuel in 1756--all three in Derby. John and Ann, the two youngest, were both born before 1760, but the records do not indicate exactly when.

It is not known precisely when the Ingraham family moved to the New York location, or why, except that they formed part of the migration up the Housatonic. The Ingrahams, through Hannah Tomlinson, were kinsmen of the Woosters and others who had taken up land in the area and had probably sent back good reports. Whatever the reason for the move, Benjamin Ingraham had relocated by the summer of 1765; on 18 July of that year his name appeared as a church warden for New Concord on a petition requesting permission to ask aid to

build a church.² In 1766 his name was on the tax list for Spencertown.

Thus, in the early years of the period under discussion, the young Benjamin Ingraham was living in what was later to be called King's District, along with his father, Benjamin Ingraham, his mother, Hannah Tomlinson, his brothers, Abijah, Samuel, and John, and his sisters, Hannah and Ann. In the community were several families of their kinsfolk as well as several hundred others, all of whom had journeyed overland from Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay at various times during the past few years.

The move of the Ingrahams from Derby to King's District was part of the great migration of the 1740s and 1750s. Settlers in Massachusetts and Connecticut were forced to move--the soil was becoming exhausted, and of late wheat crops had been destroyed by an epidemic of black stem-rust. Vacant lands in these two colonies were in short supply, thus the search for better land took hundreds of families farther west. By 1740 there was very little unpatented land left in the Hudson valley south of Albany or along the Mohawk.³ Nevertheless, the lands on the east bank of the Hudson were in the path of the migration, and many families went no farther.

²E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N.Y., 2 volumes (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1876), 1: 755.

³Dixon Ryan Fox, Yankees and Yorkers (New York: New York University Press, 1940), *passim*.

The population of Dutchess County more than doubled in the years between 1737 and 1749 and that of more thickly settled Westchester County increased by almost fifty per cent.⁴

Albany County's growth was retarded by fears of raids by the Indians and French during the War of the Austrian Succession, but between 1749 and 1756 its population increased from approximately 10,000 to more than 17,500.⁵

The stream of migration up the Connecticut and the Housatonic recommenced after the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. The lands in Berkshire County were soon all occupied, and the towns of Sheffield, Stockbridge, and Pittsfield established. Families moved into Spencertown between 1749 and 1756, and "at the hazard of their lives kept possession of their settlements" during the Seven Years' War. Other parts of King's District were settled during the following decade--New Canaan in 1757 and New Britain shortly after the Peace of Paris.⁶

The problems of the new settlers were numerous and varied, but not the least was that of acquiring title to their land. Here, several difficulties were involved. First of all, the land was in dispute between the colonies of New York and Massachusetts Bay--both claimed it. The Spencertown

⁴Bonomi, A Factious People, p. 282.

⁵Ibid., p. 202.

⁶Berkshire Historical Society Collections, Vol. 1, The Berkshire Book (Pittsfield, Mass.: Sun Printing Co., 1892), p. 71; "New York Land Papers," New York State Library, Albany, 32: 114.

inhabitants, as an example, believed themselves to be within the territory of the latter colony, "considering themselves as part of Massachusetts Province until the year 1759, when they first had certain information . . . that a line twenty miles east from Hudson's River should be a temporary jurisdiction line between the two provinces." They had purchased their land from the Mohicans with the consent of the Massachusetts General Court.⁷ Now they discovered that they were not in the colony of Massachusetts Bay at all, but in New York.

To make matters more complicated, now, that it was established that they were in New York, John Van Rensselaer claimed their lands as part of his Claverack Manor.⁸ Residents of the whole of King's District soon realized that they were in similar circumstances. Not only were their lands a bone of contention between the two provinces but also they were claimed by John Van Rensselaer or by Peter Schuyler and the other proprietors of Westenhook Patent, who regarded the New Englanders as squatters and determined to evict them--by force, if necessary. The settlers, on the other hand, were not prepared to abandon their homes without a struggle.

It is difficult to assess the impact of the Stamp Act on the inhabitants of the King's District area, preoccupied as they were with the land question. Consisting of five new

⁷New York Land Papers, 32: 114.

⁸Ibid.

settlements peopled with pioneers, some of whom had just arrived and few of whom had been there more than fifteen years, the neighbourhood had more immediate and urgent problems than the question of the right of Parliament to tax the colonists. Probably the foremost thing in their minds was the task of clearing and cultivating the land, planting and harvesting crops, and building houses and barns. Removed as they were from the commercial and legal world, few of them would have much use for stamped materials anyway. The question of land titles was ever in their thoughts, and, consequently, the city turmoil ensuing from the Stamp Act took the form in this region, as in the counties to the south, of uprisings against the patroons.

Riots broke out late in 1765 in the major cities and towns in the Thirteen Colonies in protest of the Stamp Act. In New York the mob collected on the evening of November 1 outside the Fort Gate "with a great number of Torches, and a Scaffold on which two Images were placed, one to represent the Governor in his grey hairs, and the other the Devil by his side." There they proceeded to insult the Governor with the "grossest ribaldry." Next they broke open the Governor's coach, took his chariot, and carried the two effigies about the town on it. They returned to a gibbet they had erected in front of the fort, hanged the two images, later cutting them down and burning them along with the chariot, and several of the Governor's vehicles. "While this egregious insult was performing," the Garrison stood idly by without a move or a

word of remonstrance.⁹ However, Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden got off easily in comparison with the misfortunes suffered by Thomas Hutchinson, his counterpart in Boston, as a result of the Stamp Act Riots. The mob

hardly giving Hutchinson and his family time to flee from the supper table into the streets, . . . smashed in the doors with axes, swarmed the rooms, ripped off wainscotting and hangings, splintered the furniture, beat down the inner walls, tore up the garden, and carried off into the night, besides £900 in cash, all the plate, decorations, and clothes that had survived, and destroyed or scattered in the mud all of Hutchinson's books and papers, including the manuscript of volume I of his History and the collection of historical papers that he had been gathering for years as the basis of a public archives.¹⁰

Reaction in Albany was a little more delayed. A Sons of Liberty organization was formed, patterned after that of New York. The local merchants had signed the non-importation agreements, so the Sons of Liberty addressed themselves to the task of preventing the appointment of a local deputy to the stamp collector. Their method was to round up suspected applicants, bring them before the Sons, and extract from them a promise that they would never be involved in collecting the stamp tax. Seven prospective deputies were duly interviewed before the wrath of the Sons of Liberty descended upon Henry Van Schaack who swore that he had never applied for such a post but did not think his fellow citizens should be so lacking in trust of him that they should expect him to swear that

⁹E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., Documents Related to the History of New York, 25 volumes, (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1857), 7: 771-772.

¹⁰Bailyn, The Ordeal of Thomas Hutchinson, p. 35.

he never would. Early in January a group of about four hundred decided to visit Mr. Van Schaack at his home and discuss the matter with him. On being told that he was not at home but at Mr. Schuyler's, "the Boys searched the House in every Room, and not finding him, no Intreaties could prevent their committing some Outrages in the Furniture, Windows, and Balcony, which latter, though a very elegant Piece of Work, was entirely demolished." Van Schaack thereupon recovered sufficiently from his "chagrin at the ill-placed suspicion" of the townspeople to enable him to take the oath they required.¹¹

Another suspect was convinced in yet a different way: "he was absolutely, Bona [sic] fide and ipso facto, raised clear from the Floor by his Ears, whilst a Third, very mannerly or ill-manneredly, chucked a Halter about his Neck," his body then dragged through the streets in the snow.¹² This no doubt aided him in his decision to take the oath.

Such were the Stamp Act Riots in the City of Albany. In Albany County the riots took a different form--they were land riots against the proprietors. "It was the disorder attendant upon the passage of the Stamp Act," wrote Oscar Handlin, "which offered an opportunity for the dissatisfaction of the settlers to express itself."¹³ In April of 1765 the

¹¹Pennsylvania Gazette, 9 January 1766.

¹²New York Gazette, 20 January 1766. See also Beverly McAnear, "The Albany Stamp Act Riots," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd Series 4 (1947): 486-498.

¹³Oscar Handlin, "The Eastern Frontier of New York," New York History 35 (1957): 50-75.

Mohican Indians of the area around Stockbridge, who claimed most of the land in King's District, submitted a petition asking relief from the claims of the Van Rensselaers.¹⁴ The Indians were concerned as well about the status of the land which they had leased to the settlers around Nobletown. There was unrest, too, farther south in Dutchess and Westchester Counties, and by the spring of 1766 the whole region was in a state of turbulence.

The insurrection against John Van Rensselaer was led by Robert Noble of Nobletown, a Yankee settler who had led a similar uprising in the area ten years before. Fresh from his efforts at the organization of an Anglican church in nearby Great Barrington, Noble, with sixty men under him, actually defeated a strong detachment under the Sheriff of Albany, who had come to dispossess some of the squatters on Van Rensselaer's land. The Sheriff, with his force of 150 men, marched to Noble's house to apprehend him and "divers other Rioters and disorderly Persons."¹⁵ The result was a pitched battle in which Thomas Whitney, Noble's lieutenant, and one of the posse were killed, and seven of the latter group were wounded. After this a reward was offered for the capture of Noble, and the Albany sheriff, with a large squad of men, again attempted to arrest him. This time, Noble with his new lieutenant, Josiah Loomis, escaped into the

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 69.

¹⁵ The Berkshire Book, p. 79; Pennsylvania Gazette, 17 July 1766.

Massachusetts Bay colony and did not return to New York. The rioters, however, were not defeated and continued their activities well into the summer; the insurrection was finally put down by a detachment of the Royal Infantry sent from New York for the purpose.¹⁶ The violence was ended, at least for the time being, but the land issue was far from being settled. There is no record of any actual fighting in King's District during this period; nevertheless, antipathy towards the local patroons ran high until the issue was settled after the end of the Revolutionary War.

While these riots were in progress in the rural areas in the counties on the east side of the Hudson, news was received in the latter part of May of the repeal of the Stamp Act. Great was the rejoicing in most of the cities and towns, and in many, as in the case of New York, the celebrations were made to coincide with those marking the King's birthday on the fourth of June. The demonstrations in the towns were those of joy. The records, however, do not tell us what were the reactions, if any, to these occasions for rejoicing in King's District; for the Ingrahams, perhaps, it was just another working day.

¹⁶ Handlin, "The Eastern Frontier of New York," pp. 70-71; The Berkshire Book, pp. 80-81; Bonomi, A Fictitious People, pp. 222-223; Calhoun, The Loyalists in Revolutionary America, 1760-1781, pp. 415-423; Don R. Gerlach, Philip Schuyler and the American Revolution in New York, 1733-1777 (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of New Nebraska Press, 1964), pp. 70-71; Irving Mark, Agrarian Conflicts in Colonial New York, 1711-1775 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1940), *passim*.

Next to the land issue, religion was the most important controversy. If Robert Noble was heard of no more in King's District and neighbouring Nobletown, the same is not true of the Anglican church he was helping to set up in Great Barrington, the first town in Berkshire County where dissent from the established Congregational church appeared. The Congregational minister in Great Barrington was the Reverend Samuel Hopkins, a friend of Jonathan Edwards, and a noteworthy intellectual and religious figure in New England. However, the worthy gentleman fell out with some of the influential Dutch inhabitants of the town who had previously been members of a Lutheran congregation. The points of disagreement were two in number. First, the Reverend Mr. Hopkins, true to the trend towards the revival of the "visible saints" concept, refused to baptize the children of those who were not members of his church, and, second, he somewhat ungraciously refused their request to hold an occasional service in the church in the Dutch language. The Dutch showed their disapproval by absenting themselves from service, despite the minister's remonstrances from the pulpit that "every Sunday you are not here, you are in hell" and the penalty for non-attendance, a fine or a day in the stocks.¹⁷ They continued for a time to perform the minimum legal attendance requirements; then they began to bring in Dutch preachers from New York colony,

¹⁷The Berkshire Book, pp. 187-188; The Records of St. James' Episcopal Church, Great Barrington, Massachusetts, pp. 154-156.

although they were still bound to pay tithes to the Congregational church. This new arrangement not proving too satisfactory, they united with some of the Anglican English settlers of the town and formed an Anglican congregation. In the formative years, 1761 and 1762, the Reverend Solomon Palmer came occasionally from western Connecticut to minister to them. Then on 21 September 1762 the congregation was formed into a church by the Reverend Thomas Davies, and a lay reader was chosen to read the prayers in the minister's absence. In 1763 a piece of land was donated by one of the founding Dutch members, and in 1764 the first church was erected, called at first Christ Church and later St. James, the name it bears to this day.¹⁸

The first settled rector of St. James' Church was Gideon Bostwick, born in Connecticut in 1742. After graduating from Yale in 1762, Bostwick took up residence in Great Barrington, serving as schoolmaster and lay reader. Meanwhile, the churches in Great Barrington, Lanesborough, Noble-town, and New Concord requested the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to furnish a permanent missionary for the area.¹⁹

Gideon Bostwick was the answer to their petition, but

¹⁸The Berkshire Book, pp. 189-193.

¹⁹Gerard Chapman, St. James' Parish, Great Barrington, Mass., 1762-1962 (Great Barrington, Mass.: The Protestant Episcopal Society of Great Barrington, 1962), passim.

first he had to be ordained priest. Since there was no bishop anywhere in the Thirteen Colonies, ordination necessitated a voyage to England. Accordingly, Bostwick set sail for London in December of 1769; on 24 February 1770 he was ordered a deacon, and on 11 March he was ordained to the priesthood. He returned to Great Barrington on 4 June 1770, the first resident priest and rector of St. James'.²⁰

The Reverend Mr. Bostwick's new charge was anything but a sinecure. In his own words

I divide my time among the several parishes in the following manner (viz.): I preach at Great Barrington where I reside 20 Sundays in the year, at Lanesborough and Nobletown 12 each, and at New Concord 8--which obliges me to ride a vast deal. But I thank God that thro' the strength of a good constitution, and the pleasing prospect of being the instrument of some good to my fellow creatures I am enabled cheerfully to perform it.²¹

In addition he rode widely over adjacent areas in four colonies through heat and cold, rain and snow, ministering to people in some forty frontier communities.²² A young man of such energy and enthusiasm could not fail to exert a profound influence on his parishioners.

There is some evidence, as we shall see later, that Parson Bostwick's flock in New Concord constituted one of the "nests of Tories" in King's District. Among the twenty

²⁰ Ibid.,; The Berkshire Book, p. 194.

²¹ Gideon Bostwick to S.P.G. Secretary, 23 March 1771, No. 133, Vol. 2, Series B, S.P.G. Documents, MG 17, PAC.

²² Chapman, St. James' Parish, Great Barrington, Mass., 1762-1962, p. 10.

families of his congregation we find the Ingrahams, the Barretts, the Woosters, the Savages, the Woodward, the Lockwoods, the MacArthurs (McCartys), and the Potters, most of whom appear later in the records as having some connection or other with the Tory side of politics. Some were influential in church affairs, too. As mentioned before, James Savage, Moses Wooster, and Benjamin Ingraham, senior, were the New Concord signatories on a church petition in 1765. At a vestry meeting in 1771 James Savage and Benjamin Ingraham senior were chosen church wardens and Moses Wooster, clerk. The following year Benjamin Ingraham was reappointed, and Moses Wooster became the other warden, while retaining his post as clerk.²³

In an age when books were scarce, the position of parish clerk, or lay reader, was an important one. Resplendent in cassock, surplice, bands, and wig, he occupied a pew adjacent to and often just below that of the rector and led the congregational responses. On a Sunday the little group of parishioners would gather in the churchyard while their sons or servants would tie their horses to nearby trees or hitching posts. They would exchange gossip and observations about the weather and the crops; in the 1770s there would, in addition, be plenty of serious conversation about the land problems and the political situation.

Soon Parson Bostwick would arrive, his cassock tucked

²³Records of St. James' Episcopal Church, Great Barrington, pp. 57, 64.

up to facilitate riding his horse. The bell would ring and he would enter the church, pausing in his progress up the aisle to greet the individual members of his flock and inquire after the sick and aged. The wardens, often the older Benjamin Ingraham for one, would go to the door to summon any of the men who, absorbed in political discussion, continued to dawdle.²⁴

The rector would then don his white linen surplice, which was normally stored in an oak chest in the chancel. This garment, long and full and containing twelve or more yards of material, had been in the seventeenth century an object of Puritan wrath and referred to as a "rag of Popery." In the somewhat more tolerant eighteenth century the Congregationalists called it a "Canterbury nightgown." The rector would then proceed with the Matins or with the Eucharist from the Book of Common Prayer, which differed little from that used in the Anglican or Episcopalian Church today. The parish clerk would lead the responses, although it is likely that most Anglicans learned them by heart anyway. Few churches had organs; some, like St. James' in Great Barrington, had sounding boards. Music was less important than it is today, hymns having gone out with the Reformation not to return until the nineteenth century. The service was a long one and

²⁴ Chapman, St. James' Parish, Great Barrington, Mass., 1762-1962, pp. xx-xxi. The number of parishioners in the Anglican congregation varies from reference to reference. I have accepted 20 families, the number given by Gideon Bostwick himself, as the one most likely to be accurate.

included a lengthy, scholarly sermon, usually read verbatim from carefully prepared notes. The people of the day would have been offended if their parson did not give them a discourse bearing the marks of profound learning and the "smell of the lamp."²⁵

Of considerable significance in this period of strife with Britain were certain prayers in the Book of Common Prayer. Occupying a prominent place in the service were prayers for the King, all the royal family, and "all who are set in authority over us." Anglicans prayed that the King "in all things might be led by thy guidance and protected by thy power"; they prayed for "all the Legislators of the Empire" so that "all things may be so ordered and settled by their endeavours upon the best and surest foundations, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established among us for all generations."²⁶ It was difficult, if not impossible, for the faithful among them to be saying such prayers and at the same time to be plotting, even contemplating, the overthrow of some of this legislation and, indeed, even the authority of the King and his legislators and the destruction of the Empire itself. For the rector there was an even more profound dilemma, for at his ordination not only had he pledged allegiance to the Crown but also he had

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ The Book of Common Prayer.

covenanted to include in his service the prayers for the King and the Royal Family.²⁷ In this way were the Loyalist sentiments of Benjamin Ingraham and his fellow parishioners strengthened by their association with the Anglican church. Furthermore, their rector was a dynamic young leader, one of the few who managed, without sacrificing his principles, to remain in his parish and provide spiritual guidance to his people throughout most of the period of the Revolutionary War. It is also worth noting that the church itself and its service appealed to the type of personality that respected authority and liked tradition and ceremony. Within the congregation was at least one potential leader, John Savage, an energetic and forceful young man, who could not have failed to exert a powerful influence on the others. Finally, the Anglican congregation constituted a minority in King's District, a closely-knit group which clung together for strength and mutual support.

The majority in King's District were, of course, members of, or at least connected with, the Congregational church which they had brought with them from New England. The "Church in Christ of New Concord" was gathered almost immediately after the neighbourhood was settled; services were held in a log meeting house prior to the construction of a

²⁷ Chapman, St. James' Parish, Great Barrington, Mass., 1762-1962, p. 12.

frame building in 1770.²⁸ A church was organized in Spencertown in 1761 and the existing beautiful frame building erected in 1770. Churches in New Lebanon and New Britain were gathered in 1772 and one in New Canaan about the same time. In addition Baptist churches came into existence in New Canaan and New Lebanon before 1776.²⁹ Little is known today of the ministers in these churches and their influence in the Revolution--it is, however, a fact that Baptist and Congregational clergymen were, almost to a man, on the side of the Patriots, and there is no reason to suppose that those in King's District were any exception.

One clergyman, however, whose influence we do know something about was the Congregational Reverend Thomas Allen of Pittsfield, a cousin of Ethan and Ira Allen of Vermont. The Reverend Mr. Allen, an enthusiastic, energetic, and capable revolutionary leader, did not confine his activities solely to the Pittsfield neighbourhood. An eloquent and persuasive preacher, he devoted some of his talents to the neighbouring part of the colony of New York. He went on several speaking tours, addressing all and sundry who came to hear him in Kinderhook, Claverack, and King's District. He spoke

²⁸ Franklin Ellis, History of Columbia County (Philadelphia: Everts & Ensign, 1878), p. 293; Alexander C. Flick, History of the State of New York, 10 volumes (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933), 3: 58-59.

²⁹ Ellis, History of Columbia County, p. 293; Flick, History of the State of New York, 3: 58-59; plaque on the front of the Spencertown church.

"to the delight of the radical patriots and the vehement displeasure of their opponents, against whom he advised the strongest measures." "The spirit of liberty runs high," Allen wrote to a friend, "at Albany, as you have doubtless heard by their own post to their headquarters. I have exerted myself to spread the same spirit in King's District; which has, of late, taken a surprising effect."³⁰ The speeches and sermons of this provocative parson undoubtedly influenced many of the numerous fence-sitters in King's District. However, that was a bit later, for in the early 1770s the inhabitants were not devoting all of their time to politics--the business of living, of ordinary life with all its joys and sorrows and problems, was still uppermost in their minds.

It was in the early 1770s that the younger Benjamin Ingraham began to get himself established in life. At the age of twenty-three, on 8 April 1771 he married Jerusha Barrett of New Concord, Parson Bostwick performing the ceremony.³¹ Their daughter Hannah was born on 21 April 1772 and their son John on 20 May 1773.³² Benjamin left his father's house and bought a farm for himself in New Concord, a total of ninety-three acres, with a new frame house, for all of which he paid

³⁰ Joseph Edward Adam Smith, The History of Pittsfield, Mass., two volumes (Boston: Lee & Shepherd, 1869), 1: 209.

³¹ Records of St. James' Episcopal Church, Great Barrington, p. 57.

³² Nichols, "Family Record by Benjamin Ingraham (1748-1810)," National Genealogical Society Quarterly 25 (1936): 61.

a total of £104.³³

Benjamin and Jerusha worked hard on their new place. Their farm was not a large one, even by the standards of the day, but, with the simple implements of the eighteenth century, it was enough to keep one couple busy. Benjamin had purchased his land in several parcels, first one lot of seventy-six acres, then two separate ones of eight acres each, and finally his house and the land it was built on.³⁴ For all these pieces of land, which were contiguous, he had deeds, but even so he must have been somewhat concerned about the validity of his title.³⁵

The title of the vendors themselves was still in question, claimed as the land was by John Van Rensselaer as part of his Claverack Manor. During the first half of the decade there was a raft of petitions on the subject from the inhabitants of the area. In May of 1771 a joint petition was submitted by the people of Spencertown and Nobletown, protesting the "enormous and inconsistent" claims of Van Rensselaer which could "not fail proving injurious to your petitioners and others." The petition bore 237 names.³⁶ Later in the

³³ Claims of the American Loyalists, vol. 26, pp. 23-27; Series I, MG14, A012, PAC.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ New York Land Papers, State Library of New York, 28: 157.

year another was submitted by one Peter Vosburgh and his associates, presumably his neighbours.³⁷ In January of 1772 the people of New Canaan sent in a petition signed by fifty inhabitants requesting title to their lands

which Land we your Majesty's humble petitioners did take into possession in 1765, having taken all previous steps in order to find out whether it was enclosed by any patent, lest we should be counted offenders and not being willing to give occasion to adversaries to speak reproachful but being desirous to live in peace with all men and willing with one heart to promote His Majesty's crown and dignity.³⁸

In December of the same year both Spencertown and New Canaan filed a petition; New Canaan submitted another in January 1773, followed by one from New Britain, another from Spencertown, and one from New Concord later in the year. Private individuals also got into the act.³⁹

This frantic activity was not without its effect on the adversary, John Van Rensselaer; he surrendered his claim to approximately one thousand acres of the disputed land and requested a confirmation of the title to the remainder of his patent. However, this was only a partial solution to the plight of the settlers of King's District. In the first place, many were living on land which Van Rensselaer still claimed. In February 1772 James Savage of New Concord took up the cudgel for them. He was commissioned by them to go to

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid., 32: 114, 116, 6, 36, 51, 78; 33: 31, 38, 39.

New York and intercede with the Governor on their behalf.

Savage did not deem it necessary to present again the numerous petitions of the inhabitants but humbly begged that the Governor would "transmit to His Majesty the said petitions, that His Majesty might be apprised of the peculiar situation of the Petitioners before any resolution that may prove prejudicial to the Petitioners shall take place." He wished to draw to the attention of the Governor the "deplorable situation" of several hundred families should they be "obliged to abandon the fruit of so many years' labour and industry."

Many of these settlers, however, were beyond the lands still claimed by Van Rensselaer; his immediate concern was for those within the grant of the patroon.

Those inhabitants settled under the supposition that their land was not within the patent of Col. Rensselaer and therefore from time to time petitioned the Government for patents; by this they have rendered themselves obnoxious to Col. Rensselaer and therefore fear his resentment; That they have judged wrong in so perplexed a controversy is an error they think ought to be considered with some indulgence.⁴⁰

The inhabitants were not turned off their lands, but the issue was not to be settled for a long time yet. The second problem, which concerned all the inhabitants including those who had nothing to fear from the Van Rensselaers and the Schuylers, was yet another question of title. Indian titles granted them under the authority of the Massachusetts Bay government were no longer valid; what was required now

⁴⁰Ibid., 33: 34.

was a patent from the New York government. But by this time the latter was far from stable. The people of King's District were sufficiently agitated that in 1774 they appointed a committee of three--Hezekiah Baldwin, Martin Beebe, and David Pratt--to draw up a petition on behalf of the whole of King's District, describing their plight in some detail and requesting an immediate solution. Some of the settlements, the petition read, "have been made upwards of twenty years ago, and all of them under a firm persuasion that the land was vacant, in which they were confirmed by the general sense of the country, and the opinions of experienced surveyors." In addition "they conceived that all His Majesty's subjects would be considered equally in the dispensation of the Royal Bounty and that by the settlement and cultivation of a frontier country they could not incur the displeasure of a government, especially as they immediately applied for a patent, as they have at different times done since." Continuing in this vein at some length, they concluded with the remark that the claims of the Claverack and Westenhook patentees were "exorbitant and ridiculous."⁴¹ The petition completed in September, they dispatched James Savage to London to present it.⁴²

By September 1774 much had transpired in America to distress the King and his ministers. The Boston Tea Party had occurred the previous September, and the Province of

⁴¹Ibid., 32: 94.

⁴²King's District Record Book.

Massachusetts Bay was in the process of being punished. The Intolerable Acts had been passed, the first Continental Congress had met, and America was generally in a state of ferment. The King, peevish and resentful, was not disposed to reward his wilful and disobedient colonial children at this juncture; consequently, nothing was done about the petitions.

The irony of it all was that these, the settlers in King's District, were at this time among his most loyal subjects. Their hope for success in their struggle against the patroons was based upon their belief in the fairness and humanity of the King, and more especially so since the Schuylers and Van Rensselaers sided with the more radical Whigs against him. Irving Mark, an authority on the land question in eastern New York, has pointed out that the tenants and the so-called squatters generally were on the side of politics opposite to the landlords of their neighbourhood.⁴³

Absorbed as they seem to have been in anxiety and activity concerning land titles, the people of the area found time to focus at least part of their attention on other issues and problems. In 1772 they found themselves within a new political entity. In that year the Government of New York divided the Counties of Albany and Tryon into districts; the towns of Spencertown, New Concord, New Britain, New Canaan,

⁴³Mark, Agrarian Conflicts in Colonial New York, 1711-1775; for a discussion of the land question as a cause of Loyalism, see Wallace Brown, "The American Farmer during the Revolution: Rebel or Loyalist?", Agricultural History 42 (1968): 327-338; Brown, the King's Friends, pp. 96-99.

and New Lebanon were combined to form King's District. The new municipality was bounded on the south by the District of Claverack, on the west by the District of Kinderhook, on the north by the District of Rensselaerwyck, and on the east by Berkshire County in the colony of Massachusetts Bay. Each district was required by the law to hold a meeting yearly on the first Tuesday in May at which the "freeholders and inhabitants" were to elect a supervisor, two assessors, one collector, two constables, two overseers of the poor, two fence viewers, and one clerk. Whereas generally these officers were required to be freeholders, a special clause permitted the voters of King's District to elect to these offices "Persons being substantial Householders . . . who are not Freeholders."⁴⁴ This exception was very likely a concession to those landholders whose political and legal status was rendered uncertain by the claims of the patroons.

No doubt both Benjamin Ingrahams, the father and the son, attended the first annual meeting, held on 5 May 1772 at Grixon Frisby's house in New Canaan, very close to the geographical centre of the new municipality. At this meeting, Daniel Buck was voted moderator, as the chairman was traditionally called, a position he was to hold at practically all the district meetings of the revolutionary period. Martin Beebe was elected clerk and William B. Whiting was made supervisor, an important post, the executive leader of the district;

⁴⁴ Published Colonial Records, Colonial Laws of New York from the Year 1664 to the Revolution, 5: 383.

both of these men were to be leaders in the revolutionary movement in King's District. In addition to the officers specifically required by the statute, two poundmasters were elected as well as two "by men" for each of the five towns.⁴⁵

At the annual meeting on 4 May 1773 at Grixon Frisby's both Buck and Whiting were re-elected. James Savage became an assessor and his brother John a constable. In 1774 Martin Beebe replaced Whiting as supervisor, and John Savage was returned as constable with the post of collector as well. Benjamin Ingraham, senior, was chosen poormaster.⁴⁶ The minutes indicate neither dissension nor division; the principles of concord and unanimity appear to have persisted in King's District through the year of 1774.⁴⁷

In the meantime, however, neighbouring Berkshire County was becoming progressively more radical. At a county convention in Stockbridge on 6 and 7 July 1774 the delegates "solemnly and in good faith," in protest against the Intolerable Acts, covenanted not to "import, purchase, or consume" any British goods after the first of October. They agreed to take "the most prudent care" for the raising of sheep and the cultivation of flax for the weaving of their own cloth, and to apply sanctions against all who refused to sign the

⁴⁵ King's District Record Book.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Michael Zuckerman, Peaceable Kingdoms: New England Towns in the Eighteenth Century (New York: Alfred Knopf, Inc., 1970).

covenant or failed to abide by it. At the same time and in the same "league and Covenant" they agreed "that we will observe the most strict obedience to all constitutional laws and authority, and will at all times exert ourselves for the discouragement of all licentiousness, and suppressing all disorderly mobs and riots."⁴⁸ At this time the turn of events hinged on the definition of that word "constitutionality."

In August the people of Pittsfield at a town meeting drew up a petition in which they stated that they deemed it necessary that no business be transacted in the law, that the courts of justice immediately cease to function, and that the people of the province "fall into a state of nature" until their grievances were fully redressed "by a final repeal of these injurious, oppressive, and unconstitutional acts." They expressed the view that the people of the Province should under no consideration submit to or obey these acts.⁴⁹ "The popular rage," wrote Governor Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, "is very high in Berkshire."⁵⁰

A demonstration of this "rage" occurred a short time later on the day appointed for the Court to sit in Great Barrington. About 1500 unarmed men assembled within and without the Courthouse and prevented the judges from entering.

⁴⁸Smith, History of Pittsfield, Mass., 1: 190-192.

⁴⁹Ibid., 1: 194.

⁵⁰Peter Force, American Archives, 4th and 5th Series, 6 volumes and 3 volumes (Washington: 1837-1853), Series 4, 1: 742.

Refusing to heed the sheriff's commands to make way, the crowd demanded that the judges leave town, and, as the Great-Barrington Leader put it, "they complied, lest worse should befall them."⁵¹

Activities such as these could not possibly go unnoticed in neighbouring King's District. The "hue and cry" was raised in Pittsfield against the few who refused to go along with the Covenant. As J. E. A. Smith wrote in his History of Pittsfield, "The position of the town upon the doubtful frontier of Columbia County [King's District], which was supposed to harbor several "nests of Tories," rendered it unsafe to tolerate any of their complexion in politics."⁵²

Indeed, the Tories, if at this point they could be designated as such, seem to have been in the ascendance in King's District until at least the end of 1774. The inhabitants on the day before Christmas of that year held a meeting "publicly warned by the Clark & Requested by a Number of the principal inhabitants." At this meeting they drew up a document in which they expressed their abhorrence of lawlessness, their respect for the laws of the land, and their allegiance to the King.

⁵¹Massachusetts Gazette & Newsletter, 1 September 1774; Great-Barrington Letter, 18 September 1774; both quoted in Smith, History of Pittsfield, Mass., 1: 196.

⁵²Smith, History of Pittsfield, Mass., 1: 207.

Whereas, it appears to this meeting that some individuals in the northeast part of this district have associated with divers people of a neighbouring district, and combined together to hinder and obstruct Courts of Justice in the said County of Albany; this meeting, deeply impressed with a just abhorrence of these insults upon government, and being fully sensible of the blessings resulting from a due obedience to the laws, as well as convinced of the calamities and evils attending a suppression or even suspension of the administration of justice;⁵³

they passed certain resolutions unanimously. The people of King's District agreed, first, that, since George III was the "lawful and rightful king of Great Britain and all other dominions thereto belonging" and thus had the right to establish courts and be present at them, they would to the utmost of their power and at the risk of their lives

discountenance and suppress every meeting, association or combination which may have a tendency in the least to molest, disturb, or in any wise obstruct, the due administration of justice in this province.

In the second place, they agreed individually to do everything in their power to "encourage, promote, and enforce a strict obedience to the aforesaid authority." Finally, "in as much as that life, liberty, and property and bands of society are secured and protected by the laws," they bound themselves "separately and collectively" to "aid and assist in the executive part of the law, so that all offenders may be brought to justice."⁵⁴

This covenant was a far cry, to say the least, from that of the residents of Berkshire County and must have caused

⁵³ King's District Record Book.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

them considerable consternation. No doubt it motivated Thomas Allen to intensify his activities in the district.

Loyal sentiments prevailed in King's District on into the winter of 1775. On 8 February a special meeting was held to consider the reply to be made to a letter from Abraham Yates, Chairman of the Albany Committee of Correspondence. Yates, according to the letter, had been ordered by his Committee to write to the supervisors of all the districts in the county which had not associated "to Desire them if no Committee be appointed to urge the District thereto." The meeting decided to adjourn until the sixteenth "in order to have time to consider how to answer the letter."

At their meeting on 16 February the people decided to choose no committee at present, to answer Yates' letter, and to record the letters in the book. In his reply to the Albany Committee, Supervisor Martin Beebe recounted all the details of the proceedings, adjournment, and decisions of the second meeting before quoting the resolution passed there.

That as the Province are leagly and Constitutionally Represented in the House of Assembly now Convened, this Meeting conceive that the appointment of a Committee of Correspondence in this District to be unnecessary and therefore this meeting is unanimous in not appointing any Member to serve in the said Committee for this District.⁵⁵

Opinion seemed to be solidly on the side of King and Parliament, although reforms were desired and expected. However, by the time of the annual meeting held at Grixon Frisby's

⁵⁵ Ibid.

on 2 May the whole complexion had changed. The new slate of officers having been elected, the meeting then "voted first to Abide by the proceedings of the General Congress." Significantly there was no mention of the vote's being unanimous--the polarization of opinion had commenced in King's District. The next item on the agenda was the election of seven of the inhabitants to form a Committee of Correspondence and Safety; at least three of the Committee--Matthew Adgate, Nathaniel Culver, and Asa Douglass--were to play an important part in King's District during the Revolution. It is also interesting to note that the only future Tory elected on the slate of officers was John Savage.⁵⁶

The proceedings at the annual meeting of 1775 appear to be the culmination of an inexplicable volte face during the days between 16 February and 2 May. Perhaps a close look at events as they occurred during these winter months might help to explain it. In the first place, the land question continued to be a vexing problem, if anything even more complex than ever. James Savage's trip to London in 1774 had actually availed little or nothing. The agreement which William Smith and Philip Schuyler had negotiated in 1773 between Governor Tryon and John Van Rensselaer in which the latter surrendered 70,000 acres of the controversial land had not solved the problem. Much of Spencertown was outside these 70,000 acres anyway, but most of it was within the 120,000

⁵⁶ Ibid.

acres to which Van Rensselaer had just had his title confirmed. The other towns now had to contend with the Westenhook patentees, who claimed the land which Van Rensselaer had relinquished.⁵⁷ To complicate matters still further, reduced officers from the Seven Years' War had petitioned for much of the land surrendered by the patroon. Practically the only conclusion reached by the Lords of Trade in their hearings and deliberations on the issue seems to have been that "no further Survey or Location of Lands in King's District, and on the other lands surrendered by Mr. Van Rensselaer, should be made." Copies of the minutes of the proceedings were given to Lieutenant-Governor Colden and James Savage.⁵⁸

Just when the report of these deliberations reached King's District is not known for certain; in any case, the actual news would have been less reassuring than no news at all. The Legislative Council was still discussing the problem in June, and nothing concrete was happening.⁵⁹ The awful truth that the King and his Government intended to do nothing

⁵⁷ Philip J. Schwarz, "To Conciliate the Jarring Interests": William Smith, Thomas Hutchinson, and the Massachusetts-New York Boundary, 1771-1773," New York Historical Society Quarterly 59 (1975): 308.

⁵⁸ Collections of the New York Historical Society, The Cadwallader Colden Papers, 7 volumes (New York: New York Historical Society, 1923), 1: 280-281; Force, American Archives, Series 4, 2: 137.

⁵⁹ William H. Sabine, ed., Historical Memoirs of William Smith, 1763-1778 (New York: New York Times, 1956; from unpublished manuscript in N.Y. Public Library, p. 206.

to alleviate the plight of the landholders would gradually have dawned upon most of the inhabitants by this time. Uncertainty and anxiety reigned supreme, no doubt influencing many people to line up on one side or the other. Some, disillusioned by the lack of results from London, would side with the opponents of the King; others, although equally disillusioned, would see no prospect of success with the Continental Congress, to which the local patroons gave their support, and consequently would remain loyal. The two men perhaps most deeply involved in the land negotiations were Nathaniel Culver and James Savage; their political reactions were quite different from each other. Culver sided with the Patriots from the first; Savage was somewhat reluctant. It required more than gentle persuasion to induce him to sign the association; both his brothers, John and Edward, were Loyalists, the former being the enthusiastic and intrepid Tory leader in New Concord.

The Culver and Savage reaction to the political situation was typical. For example, Benjamin and Abijah Ingraham were Loyalists, Samuel and John were Patriots, while Benjamin senior was a Loyalist at heart and a Patriot in practice; yet all must have had the same worries over the title to their land. It would be a neat and simple solution to the problem if one could show that all those living in one section were Loyalists because they had title problems while all those in another were Patriots because they had clear titles, or vice versa. But such was not the case. The response to the strife

with the patroons differed among individuals within the same section and even within the same family. Some still had faith in the King and Parliament and regarded the Continental Congress as an illegally constituted body of upstarts whose intelligence and integrity were at best dubious; others saw the Congress as their only hope against the foul machinations of a dishonest Parliament and a tyrannical King. Still others had no strong opinions at all and were content merely to wait on the sidelines until they could decide which was the more likely to be the winning team. It cannot be said that in King's District the land question was a factor in influencing the inhabitants to espouse one side or the other; at best it was a catalyst in inducing them to make a choice.

The decline of the Legislative Assembly, however, must be viewed differently; this event undoubtedly had a profound effect on the action of the people of King's District at their meeting in May 1775. As late as February they had had sufficient faith in the Assembly, in which they were represented, that they saw no need for a Committee of Correspondence.⁶⁰ The proper method, it seemed to them then, of striving for political objectives and the redress of grievances was to work through their legally constituted popular assembly rather than through some committee hastily called together by hot-headed radicals.

⁶⁰ Representatives in the Assembly for Albany County were Philip Schuyler and Jacob H. Ten Eyck.

The Assembly, consisting at this time of more than thirty paid members, wielded considerable power, won gradually and painfully during the course of the century at the expense of the royal authority. By 1775 the Assembly had the right of initiating all laws; it controlled provincial finance, having the authority to appropriate money, to decide how it was to be used, and to supervise its expenditure; it even appointed some of the administrative officers despite the governor's claim to this prerogative. Through the years it had continued to resist with success the institution of a Civil List; its only defeat had been its failure to gain control of the appointment and dismissal of judges.⁶¹

Immediately above the Assembly was the Legislative Council, intended as an advisory body to the Governor and without whose co-operation the Governor was virtually helpless. Ability and suitability seldom being the criteria for his selection, the Governor was usually in an unenviable position, a pawn between the King on the one hand and the Council on the other. The Assembly as well were in a position to make his life far from relaxed and pleasant. He had the right to veto any bill passed by the elected house, but, before doing so, he usually found it judicious to weigh the consequences of such an action. All laws approved by the Governor

⁶¹ Flick, History of the State of New York, 3: 387; John C. Miller, Origins of the American Revolution (Stanford, Cal.: Stanford University Press, 1943), p. 35.

went to the Privy Council, which body also exercised the right of disallowance. Furthermore, it was understood that the King had created the colonial legislatures and bestowed upon them their rights and privileges, and what the King chose to give he could also choose to take away. Nevertheless, in spite of the royal prerogatives the assemblies had continued to increase their power and improve their positions for the last hundred years and by the eve of the Revolution they were a force to be reckoned with.

The New York Assembly, however, experienced a dramatic change during the winter of 1775. Convening on 10 January, it dallied for a couple of weeks before getting down to the serious business of considering what to do about the First Continental Congress. Should the Assembly confirm the action of the Congress or not? Should it appoint delegates to the second one or not? The Loyalist members thought the whole affair should be ignored; the conservative group, who were the moderates, were not so sure. Three separate resolutions on the issues were introduced and debated, the last being voted upon on 23 February. The loyalist point of view won by a substantial majority--the Assembly "expressed its disapproval of the first congress, and refused to appoint deputies to the second."⁶² It then turned its attention to the report of the Committee on Grievances, from the resolutions of which it

⁶² Carl Becker, The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1763-1776 (Madison, Wis.: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1909), pp. 176-177.

formulated "a petition to the King, a memorial to the Lords, and a remonstrance to the Commons." From the loyalist point of view there was nothing else to be done, but again the conservatives were not so sure. The Assembly adjourned on 3 May, the day after the annual meeting in King's District.⁶³ Although it continued to exist for another year, it was never truly effective again.

As far as the people of King's District were concerned, the Assembly had failed them. For most, merely to send a petition on grievances to London was not enough. They began to look at alternatives and decided at their annual meeting to elect a Committee of Correspondence and to send delegates to the Albany County Committee. Conservative up to this point, the moderates seem still to have been in the majority, but not for long.

The news of the Battle of Lexington reached Pittsfield at noon on 21 April 1775 and would have reached King's District at least by the next day.⁶⁴ The Albany County Committee, acting with its usual dispatch, had letters out to each of the districts in the county by 29 April requesting them, if they had not already done so, to appoint "a committee of safety, protection, and correspondence with full power to transact all such matters as . . . may tend to the welfare of the American cause." The new County Committee was to meet on

⁶³Ibid., p. 177.

⁶⁴Smith, History of Pittsfield, Mass., p. 206.

10 May.⁶⁵ As we have seen, King's District chose their committee at the annual meeting on 2 May; to represent them in Albany they appointed Matthew Adgate, Nathaniel Culver, and Asa Douglass.⁶⁶

To add to the excitement, the indefatigable Thomas Allen, the parson from Pittsfield, had been active in King's District and Kinderhook preaching Whig doctrines to large congregations and advocating the sternest measures against all who dared oppose them. As a further promotion of the cause of freedom, he arranged to have a revolutionary Boston newspaper circulated as widely as possible in Albany County as well as in Berkshire.⁶⁷ Undoubtedly Thomas Allen played an important role in the district in enlisting support for the revolutionary cause.

On the other hand, Gideon Bostwick, the Ingrahams' pastor, could not have been as influential. In the first place, he reached a much smaller audience, only the score or so of families who comprised his congregation, while Allen held huge meetings which the public at large were encouraged to attend. As the climate heated up towards radicalism, Bostwick had to exert more and more caution. Until the spring of 1775 he was quite safe in preaching the doctrine of obedience to established authority and in leading prayers for the

⁶⁵ Minutes of the Albany County Committee of Correspondence, 2 volumes, 1: 18-19.

⁶⁶ Ibid., 1: 28.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 1: 125-126.

King, Royal Family, and Parliament. But as time went on his dilemma intensified. He could, like most of his Anglican colleagues, have come out publicly in favour of the Loyalist cause. But this course of action would very likely lead to the necessity of abandoning his flock. On the other hand, to embrace the Patriot cause was to break his oath of allegiance and to betray much of what he professed to believe in as an Anglican. He was to find his position difficult. In July 1776 he, along with a number of his parishioners in Great Barrington, was served with a warning that, since he had refused to subscribe his name to the association, "the People of this Town are very uneasy that you have not resigned your arms, and we find they are determined to take your arms, in their own way unless you resign them of your own accord." We are not told whether Mr. Bostwick surrendered his arms or not, or, indeed, if he actually had any to surrender, but we do know that he managed to retain his parish until his death in 1793.⁶⁸

The Congregationalists in King's District outnumbered the Anglicans, and thus, perhaps consequently, the Patriots at last came to outnumber the Loyalists. While there is no evidence that all Congregationalists favoured the Patriot cause, most of them seem to have done so. On the other hand, the majority of the Anglicans were at first on the side of

⁶⁸ Chapman, St. James' Parish, Great Barrington, Mass., 1762-1962, pp. 12-13; Records of St. James' Episcopal Church, Great Barrington, p. 156; see also Gideon Bostwick's letters to the S.P.G.

the King; some, however, lacking the strength to withstand the pressure of the Committee, finally succumbed and signed the Association. Thus at the beginning of the Revolution, there were in the village of New Concord, as indeed in all of King's District, two fiercely contending factions. The Anglican Ingrahams, Savages, Woosters, Potters, Woodwards, and McCartys were branded Tories. The Beebes, the Benjamins, the Herricks, and the Salisburys were, for the most part, on the other side.

Commenting on the absence of harmony in King's District, Abraham Yates, Chairman of the Albany Committee of Correspondence, on 12 March 1775 wrote to some committee members in Stockbridge:

It is with reluctance that we are under the necessity to inform you that there is but too much Reason to think that the Report which prevails among you respecting the Conduct of the Inhabitants of Kinderhook and Kings District is founded on truth. . . . We are willing to hope that their Conduct rather proceeded from wrong Representations and apprehensions, Propagated and instilled by those (as you suggest) who are disaffected to the Rights and Liberties of America, than to an unfriendly disposition to the Common Cause, a Cause of greater Consequence than they are now aware of⁶⁹

Apparently the greater part of the inhabitants had reached some measure of awareness before the annual meeting of 2 May when they elected their Committee of Correspondence. At the 10 May meeting of the Albany County Committee King's District was at last represented. None of the three delegates, however, was chosen to attend the First Provincial

⁶⁹ Minutes of the Albany County Committee of Correspondence, 1: 1.

Congress, which was to assemble on 23 May in New York.

The First Provincial Congress passed two important pieces of legislation, either of which made it almost imperative that the individual declare himself; fence-sitting became virtually a thing of the past. In the first place, the deputies agreed unanimously to have the local committees canvass their districts for signatures to the General Association.. This document was in essence a pledge of allegiance to the Provincial Congress, requiring, as it did, the signatory to agree "in all things to follow the advice of our Provincial Congress respecting the purpose aforesaid, the preservation of peace, and good order, and the safety of individual & private property."⁷⁰ The demand to sign such a declaration placed a serious and sincere Anglican in a real dilemma; to sign was to compromise his religion, to refuse to sign was to compromise his relations with many of his neighbours. The second problem for the heretofore neutral was the Congress' decision to call out the militia. To refuse either to sign the Association or to enlist in the militia was tantamount to declaring oneself a Tory. The time had come to stand up and be counted.

As early as 8 May Matthew Adgate and Asa Douglass had sent a letter to the County Committee requesting supplies for

⁷⁰ Bernard Mason, The Road to Independence: The Revolutionary Movement in New York, 1773-1777 (Lexington, Ky.: The University of Kentucky Press, 1966), p. 63.

men who had volunteered to go to Ticonderoga.⁷¹ On the 27th the Albany Committee resolved "That letters be sent to Claverack and King's District inclosing a Resolve for enlisting Men, and requesting such of the Military Officers as are willing to march to Ticonderoga to Compleat their Companies and March with the greatest dispatch."⁷² Matthew Adgate was one of the four chosen to write the letter. "No Time is now to be lost," the letter said, "every Hours delay is big with Danger as the Canadians are soon expected down to retake Ticonderoga."⁷³

Polarization in King's District now proceeded at a rapid rate; it became impossible to remain uncommitted. The case of John Savage furnishes an example. Savage, a constable for three years and a collector, a substantial citizen, a man with a dynamic personality, seemed a likely choice to command a company in the local militia. Chosen for the post in the month of May, he found himself in an embarrassing predicament. "Being chosen by King's District," he wrote in his journal, "to Command a Company in Behalf of Congress and likewise to sign a Paper called the Association: Which I refused and for that reason I was called an enemy to their cause."⁷⁴

The summer of 1775 was a period of unrest and

⁷¹Minutes of the Albany County Committee of Correspondence, 1: 31.

⁷²Ibid., 1: 45-46.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴The Journal of John Savage, Brome County Museum, Knowlton, Quebec, p. 1.

dissension in King's District: Not only was there by this time a definite dichotomy between those who supported Congress and those who did not; there was even dissension among the former group themselves. Some of them became dissatisfied with the Committee elected in May, called a meeting, and chose a new one. But there were those who favoured the old one and refused to recognize the replacement. Finally, it became necessary to refer the dispute to the County Committee, who "Unanimously gave their Judgment that the Old Committee should remain and refused the new Committee. . . ." ⁷⁵ Many of the community's men had gone into the militia, most of them too late to participate in the recapture of Ticonderoga by Benedict Arnold and Crown Point by Ethan Allen and the taking of St. Jean on the Richelieu by the two combined. Others had been in time to see action on Lake Champlain and the Richelieu; some suffered and a few died before Quebec at the close of the year. On the other hand, there were others at home who refused to join the militia, Benjamin and Abijah Ingraham, for example.

Meanwhile, the Albany County Committee on 17 May resolved that any who refused to give up their arms for the American cause ought to be "held up to the public as an enemy of their country." ⁷⁶ On 3 August the Provincial Congress

⁷⁵ Minutes of the Albany County Committee of Correspondence, 1: 241-242.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 1: 37.

authorized local committees to seize obnoxious Tories and punish them at their own discretion.⁷⁷ During the summer the County Committee announced that those who refused to enlist should be considered as enemies of their country.⁷⁸ And in September the Committee of Safety decided to disarm, by force, if necessary, all non-associaters.⁷⁹ Life was becoming increasingly difficult for Loyalists.

It is hard to understand exactly how able-bodied men were able to avoid enlisting in the militia. According to the provisions of the Militia Bill, passed by the Provincial Congress on 22 August 1775, King's District, like all other municipalities in the Province, was to be divided into "beats" by its Committee. Each beat was expected to raise a company, "ordinarily to consist of about eighty-three able bodied and effective men, Officers included, between 16 and 60 years of age." The Act further required that "every man between the ages of 16 and 50 do with all convenient speed furnish himself with a good Musket or firelock & Bayonet Sword or Tomahawk, a Steel Ramrod, Worm, Priming Wire and Brush fitted thereto, a Cartouch Box to contain 25 rounds of cartridges, 12 flints and a knapsack agreeable to the directions of the Continental Congress"; it also provided penalties for failure to meet

⁷⁷ Proceedings of the Provincial Congress, Committee of Safety and Convention of New York Relating to Military Matters, 15: 30-34.

⁷⁸ Minutes of the Albany County Committee of Correspondence, 1: 85.

⁷⁹ Force, American Archives, Series 4, 3: 898.

with the requirements either in total or in part. There were penalties as well for anyone who failed to "repair properly armed and accoutred to his colours or Parade" when called upon to do so.⁸⁰ The "disaffected" must either have paid the fines or have found some means of which we have not been told to evade the call-up.

The fact that three companies of men had already volunteered for service and marched north must have created further discord among the inhabitants and greater resentment against those, like Benjamin Ingraham, who refused to serve. The three companies had marched to Albany and thence to Ticonderoga in the spring and were to continue service until their discharge in the winter of 1776. Upon dismissal, one company was to be formed out of the volunteers from the three for service in Canada for the rest of the winter. One whole company and part of two others had been recruited in King's District to form part of the army before Boston. In addition, after the news of General Montgomery's defeat and death at Quebec, a large number of men from the District had joined with a Berkshire County company and marched to Canada.⁸¹

Besides, to provide protection at home, the Seventeenth Regiment of the New York Militia had been organized in King's District under the command of Colonel William B. Whiting.⁸²

⁸⁰Proceedings of the Provincial Congress, 4: 30-34.

⁸¹Force, American Archives, Series 4, 5: 979-980.

⁸²Minutes of the Albany County Committee of Correspondence, 1: 255.

The District was divided into nine "beats," each of which was expected to raise a company and to provide its own company officers. The muster rolls show that some beats were much more successful than others in recruiting, no doubt depending on the number of men who had volunteered for service in the north and the number of Loyalists in the beat. And, as time went on, a few of the captains, like Barret Dyer, became less enthusiastic towards the cause while the zeal and industry of one of the New Concord captains, John Salisbury, would make a story in itself.

With two aggressive and energetic leaders like John Salisbury and John Savage in the immediate neighbourhood, and on opposite sides of politics as they were, the Ingrahams were likely to find peace and concord at a premium. Neutrality, even if desired, was out of the question--it became necessary to take one side or the other. Meetings of the Loyalists were no longer confined to mere talk sessions before and after the Anglican church service. The house of John Savage, still standing at present-day Morehouse Corners, became a meeting place for those of the area who did not support the Congress, the Tories.⁸³ As a result, it was not long before Savage found himself in serious trouble. In January 1776 he was brought before the District Committee to give an account of himself and answer charges of disaffection to the American cause. He was taken to Albany jail where the jailer refused

⁸³Journal of John Savage, p. 1.

to keep him, considering his crimes of being a Tory and of drinking King George's health insufficient grounds for imprisonment. Taken next before the Albany County Committee, he was committed by them to three days confinement in the Fort. Upon his release he was returned to the King's District Committee; they required him to post a bond of five hundred pounds for his good behaviour and not to be seen off his farm.⁸⁴ John Savage's fall marked the beginning of a trying time for the Loyalists in King's District.

In January 1776 the Continental Congress "resolves" against the disaffected confirmed those already enacted by the Provincial Congress and had the effect of driving the Loyalists underground. Meetings had to be more secret than ever. Without doubt those in New Concord were still held at the home of their leader, John Savage, confined to his farm as he was by order of the Committee. There is in existence no list of those attending, but among them certainly would be that little group of New Concord Anglican Loyalists, the Ingrahams, the Woosters, the Savages, the Potters, the Woodwards, and the McCartys. They still hoped for a peaceful solution to the differences existing between the colonists and the British Government. The elections for a new Legislative Assembly in February must have provided some grounds for optimism, optimism that was to fade as time passed and the newly elected Assembly was never called. From the military

⁸⁴ Ibid., Minutes of the Albany County Committee of Correspondence, 1: 324.

point of view, the situation looked brighter after Montgomery's defeat at Quebec only to darken when General Howe evacuated Boston in March 1776 soon after General Washington had occupied Dorchester Heights.

In Philadelphia the Continental Congress had resolved on 14 March that local committees should immediately disarm all those who were "notoriously disaffected to the cause of America, or who have not associated, and refuse to associate, to defend by arms these United States."⁸⁵ Presumably the disaffected in King's District had already been disarmed, since Patriot enthusiasts were travelling farther afield on precisely the same mission. In February the County Committee had directed that of King's District to send a company to the Manor of Livingston to "disarm and apprehend all such suspected persons as shall be returned to them by the Committee" of that place.⁸⁶

The King's District Committee appears to have been both zealous and assiduous. The Ingrahams, however, as well as their colleagues with the exception of John Savage, seem so far to have escaped their ire. Not only Tories but even diligent Patriot partisans like John Salisbury were open to investigation. Early in March a committee was chosen by the Albany County Committee to consider "examinations and proofs"

⁸⁵Force, American Archives, Series 4, 5: 1385.

⁸⁶Minutes of the Albany County Committee of Correspondence, 1: 336.

against Salisbury.⁸⁷ The records describe the examinations about this time of many others suspected of being disaffected to the American cause.⁸⁸

Perhaps there was reason for suspicion. According to J. E. A. Smith, the nineteenth century historian of Pittsfield, the period when the "spirit of Toryism was most rampant" in King's District was from the spring of 1776 to the Battle of Saratoga in October 1777.⁸⁹ The signing of the Declaration of Independence must have shocked some of the lukewarm Whigs, who heretofore had not given up hope of a reconciliation, into declaring for the King. Not long after, Governor Tryon was appointed major general in charge of Provincial forces and began recruiting. In the late summer and early autumn the British under General Howe succeeded in driving Washington and the Continentals out of New York and occupying the city themselves. All of this must have been heartening to the Loyalists and instrumental in helping others to make up their minds to support the King.

Annual meeting time in King's District rolled around again. Daniel Buck was still moderator in May 1776 and Philip Erisbee became the new supervisor. The inhabitants elected their numerous officials and legislated that "rams & sheep are to be taken up by Sept. 1st & kept secure till Nov. 10" and

⁸⁷ Ibid., 1: 348.

⁸⁸ Ibid., 1: 368.

⁸⁹ Smith, History of Pittsfield, Mass., 1: 246.

"hogs are free commoners with a good yoke."⁹⁰ There was still some time left for the consideration of affairs other than relations with the King and Parliament--but not much.

It was about this time that the Patriots of King's District became convinced of the "glimmering of such a plot as has seldom appeared in the world since the fall of Adam, by the grand deceiver and supplanter of truth."⁹¹ Matthew Adgate, Chairman of the District Committee, went on in his letter to General Washington to beseech the General "that the utmost secrecy and despatch be used to carry something into execution for the fullest discovery and overthrow of this most dark and dreadful scheme to overthrow this once happy land."⁹² Martin Beebe, the Clerk of the District, was dispatched to General Washington with Chairman Adgate's letter and, as Washington put it, "two informations." "From these," Washington wrote in a letter to General Philip Schuyler in Albany, "you will readily discover the diabolical and insidious arts and schemes carrying on by the Tories and friends to Government, to raise distrust, disjunction, and division among us."⁹³ Nowhere do we find exactly what the plot consisted of, except that there are charges against the Provincial Convention and against General Philip Schuyler who was the

⁹⁰ King's District Record Book.

⁹¹ Force, American Archives, Series 4, 6: 438.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

officer commanding the armies in northern New York. In his reply to Washington, Schuyler remarked that up to that moment he had treated the "infamous libel" with contempt but now felt that he owed it to his country and to himself to "detect the scoundrels"; consequently, he requested an immediate inquiry into the matter. He believed the plot "more a scheme calculated to ruin me than to disunite and create jealousies in the friends of America."⁹⁴

However, in both King's District and Berkshire County, the "plot" was seen as "some Confederation against the United Colonies of America." The two districts, combining forces to stamp out the conspiracy, lost no time in apprehending suspected persons.⁹⁵ There is no record of Benjamin Ingraham or any of his friends, with the exception of John Savage, being brought before the Committee at this point in time. "I was again brought before the Committee," Savage wrote in his Journal, "and I asked them their reason for bringing me there; They made answer that Enemies to their cause frequented my House." He was found guilty and ordered to a jail in New England.⁹⁶

Meanwhile, the Provincial Convention moved towards co-ordinating the measures for the prevention of treasonable

⁹⁴ Ibid., 6: 609.

⁹⁵ Minutes of the Albany County Committee of Correspondence, 1: 415.

⁹⁶ Journal of John Savage, p. 1.

activity. On 16 June this body came out with a definition of citizenship and one of treason. Everyone who lived within the Province owed it allegiance. To make war against the Province, to give aid to its enemies, or to adhere to the King was treason; treason was punishable by death. County and District Committees were instructed to arrest not only traitors but also those whose "going at large" seemed to pose a danger to the American cause. The Continental Congress on 24 June passed a similar declaration.⁹⁷

Back in King's District, in anticipation of the Declaration of Independence, a "full" meeting was held at Jonathan Warner's Tavern on 24 June 1776. The question was put "whether the said District choose to have the American colonies independent of Great Britain. . . . It passed unanimously in the affirmative." Spencertown, to add emphasis to the District decision, "in a full meeting, unanimously agreed that as soon as the honourable Continental Congress should see fit to declare the American Colonies independent of Great Britain, they would support and defend the same with their lives and fortunes."⁹⁸ One cannot help wondering about the significance of the words "full" and "unanimously." The Loyalists obviously did not attend.

As the result of such affirmations and resolutions as

⁹⁷ See Calhoun, The Loyalists of the American Revolution, pp. 409-409; Brown, The Good Americans, p. 36.

⁹⁸ Force, American Archives, Series 4, 7: 1056.

well as the Declaration of Independence on 4 July, the King's District Committee, like its counterparts all over the Thirteen Colonies, became even more zealous in rooting out Tories, interrogating them, and punishing them by one or more of the many means at their disposal.

John Savage was not alone when he was apprehended in June. According to his Journal he had "between twenty and Thirty able men" with him. The Minutes of the Albany County Committee of Correspondence refer to "the Persons who rescued John Savage & others, who had been apprehended by order of the Committee of Kings District, and ordered to be sent into a Neighbouring State." ⁹⁹ There can be little doubt that Benjamin Ingraham, junior, was one of the men with Savage, who planned to "command them either to New York or Canada." ¹⁰⁰

Benjamin Ingraham thus became one of the many Tories who spent the summer and autumn of 1776 wandering in the woods of Albany and Berkshire Counties. From the Patriot point of view the situation became so serious that the Provincial Congress on 23 July "resolved unanimously that there be raised in the County of Albany one hundred and twenty-six men Officers included to be employed as scouting parties to range the Woods." ¹⁰¹ And on 21 September the Provincial Convention,

⁹⁹ Minutes of the Albany County Committee of Correspondence, 1: 622.

¹⁰⁰ Journal of John Savage, p. 1.

¹⁰¹ O'Callaghan, ed., Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York, 15: 116-117.

finding themselves "reduced by the great laws of self-preservation and the duties which they owe to their constituents to provide that no means in their power be left unessayed to defeat the barbarous machinations of their domestick as well as external enemies," set up a new institution, the Committees for Inquiring Into, Detecting, and Defeating Conspiracies.¹⁰² These Committees during the next few years were very busy indeed.

In November it was reported to Captain Philip Frisbie, Supervisor of King's District, that "disaffected persons in Indian dress kept skulking in the woods nearby and disarming the Whigs." In consequence of this report Captain Frisbie requested the presence of additional troops in the neighbourhood--these troops to apprehend those inimical to the cause and to bring such persons before the District Committee. The request was granted.¹⁰³ Even so, the Albany County Committee reported on the twenty-first of the month:

Every District in this County is crowded with disaffected persons; the woods are full of them; and notwithstanding every effort that has been made by our Militia, and the Rangers to apprehend them, they have eluded our search. This County, besides, is full of slaves, who probably may already have been tampered with, and (all our friends being ordered off), may join with the disaffected in the abuse or destruction of our wives, our children, and our effects.

Our suspected enemies in this city are continually drawing off in secret manner into the Country, perhaps collecting together and awaiting the departure of our friends to fall upon the remainder of us. The

¹⁰²Force, American Archives, Series 5, 7: 466.

¹⁰³Minutes of the Albany County Committee of Correspondence, 1: 567.

disaffected persons in the County have proceeded to open acts of violence; they have plundered some of our soldiers of their arms on the road in open day, broken into the houses of the inhabitants in the night time and robbed them of their arms, ammunition, and blankets, and even rescued our prisoners from the hands of those who were guarding them.¹⁰⁴

In the same month the New York Committee of Safety wrote to General Schuyler to inform him that three of the enemy's frigates had managed to get through the obstructions in the Hudson River and that there was great danger of them joining with large numbers of the disaffected on the east side of the river with the possibility of doing considerable mischief.¹⁰⁵

A letter from Robert Yates, Chairman of the Albany County Committee, written on 25 October to the New York Committee of Public Safety, indicated the desperation of the patriots in that county. Yates requested that Colonel Van Rensselaer "with part or detachments of two regiments under his command, could immediately be ordered to King's District, to which we have been able, notwithstanding the importunity of the inhabitants, to send a small detachment of 15 Rangers, commanded by a Lieutenant, and to direct Colonel Whiting to raise 100 men in that neighbourhood and the Massachusetts Government."¹⁰⁶ To relieve another potentially dangerous situation, Yates believed that, since all the militia in

¹⁰⁴Force, American Archives, Series 5, 3: 266.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., 3: 238.

¹⁰⁶Ibid., 3: 280.

Albany had marched, it was imperative that the city's jails should be cleared of all State prisoners. Consequently, they were sending them to Fishkill, the seat of the Provincial Congress, to be "forwarded to one of the neighbouring States, or disposed of as you judge most advisable."¹⁰⁷

The majority of these prisoners were retained in Kingston, New York; here, the Congress had established the "Fleet Prison" at Esopus Landing. Many of the more troublesome were dispatched to Connecticut to the horrors of the Simsbury Mines, a fate narrowly escaped by Benjamin Ingraham.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Ibid.

¹⁰⁸ "The ultimate of man's inhumanity to man for the Loyalists was Connecticut's Newgate, formed from the abandoned copper mines at Simsbury. . . . While prison facilities in general during the Revolution were cruelly inadequate, the horrendous conditions to which the Loyalists were subjected in the Simsbury copper mines can still unnerve even the most callous visitor. These caverns were utilized from 1773 until the destructive fire of 1782, and again from 1786 until 1827, and were so uniformly dreaded as a place of confinement that they were called every damning epithet from Bastille, Inferno, and prison of the Inquisition to sepulchre, living tomb, and catacomb. The prisoners were brought up from the hole at day-break, three at a time, conducted to their place of work, and often chained to the block or fettered by foot or neck. Hunks of meat or bread were thrown at their feet to be grabbed, cleaned, and perhaps held for cooking.

" . . . the miners bored half a mile through a mountain, making large cells 40 yards below the surface, which now serve as a prison. . . . The prisoners are let down on a windlass into this dismal cavern, through a hole, which answers the triple purpose of conveying them food, air, and--I was going to say light, but it scarcely reaches them."

Excerpts from pages 216 and 175 of Catherine S. Crary, The Price of Loyalty (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973).

Until October 1776 Benjamin continued to roam the woods with the group of New Concord Loyalists led by John Savage. Actually, there was little else at the time that they could do; had they remained at home they would have been arrested and imprisoned. However, their mode of life was not an aimless or useless one; the "fugitives," if they could be termed thus, spent their time promoting the cause of Loyalism--freeing prisoners whenever possible, harassing the Patriot militia, and providing themselves with guns, ammunition, blankets, and other military supplies. Benjamin Ingraham's special assignment was that of messenger to Colonel Philip Skene, at this time a prisoner at Hartford, Connecticut.¹⁰⁹ On a brief, surreptitious visit to his home on 6 October Benjamin was arrested by Captain John Salisbury and his company of militia, all of whom were neighbours of the Ingrahams and many were no doubt former friends. He was confined in irons and sentenced to imprisonment by the local Committee for having "conveyed Letters" to Colonel Skene and for his "unfriendly behaviour to the Liberties of Americans." Four days later he escaped from confinement and made his way back to his friends in the woods.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ Philip Skene had been an officer in Amherst's army in 1759. He obtained a grant of 34,000 acres of land at the head of navigation on Lake Champlain, where he founded a colony called Skenesborough. At the time when Arnold and Allen took Ticonderoga in 1775, he was taken prisoner by Captain Samuel Herrick and sent to Hartford, where, it was said, he still "harangued the people from the prison window." Later he managed to get to Canada and joined in Burgoyne's expedition.

¹¹⁰ Claims of the American Loyalists, vol. 26, pp. 23-27, Series I, MG14, A012, PAC.

John Savage had planned to lead his company either to Canada or to New York City to join with the British forces. His final decision, to go to New York, was made early in October when he was invited by Colonel Edmund Fanning to raise a company to serve in the King's American Regiment.¹¹¹

News of the company's pending departure got to one Richard Powers in New Concord, who had been taken sick and gone home to recuperate. Powers had sent a message to Savage, begging not to be left behind. Savage and another man slipped through to their friend's house to pick him up. On their way back the three stopped at the house of another Loyalist for some refreshments. A few minutes later the lady of the house hastened into the room to tell them that they were surrounded by a "Party of Rebels." "On hearing her," Savage wrote, "I took my Gun, & Pistol and stepped out Doors, then meeting Capt Salisbury & three others; Having some dispute with them, they dispersed." But the indefatigable John Salisbury was not to be put off so easily. No sooner had Savage rejoined his men in the woods than his company was surrounded by between thirty & forty of the Rebels and after having some dispute with them . . . was oblig'd to Capitulate & surrender to them."¹¹²

The sentence of the Committee was the dread Simsbury Mines. On the way to Connecticut the party stopped at the house of the Anglican Timothy Younglove in Great Barrington

¹¹¹Journal of John Savage, p. 2.

¹¹²Ibid.

and were rescued by Lieutenant Gisbert Sharp, who had raised a company of men for the purpose.¹¹³ Sharp found himself in the bad books of the Albany County Committee, who charged that he "was privy to or aided & assisted the Persons who rescued John Savage & others." However, Sharp was fortunate enough, or perhaps clever enough, to obtain from the Clerk of the Convention of Committees at Great Barrington a certificate of his non-participation in the escapade; consequently, the Albany Committee exonerated and discharged him.¹¹⁴

Free once more, John Savage and his party of twenty-four took "the route for Canada."¹¹⁵ The Americans had been driven out of Quebec after their defeat at St. Jean by Carleton and Burgoyne; they had retreated to Lake Champlain. Carleton, in his pursuit, delayed too long, taking a great deal of precious time to build the boats needed for the campaign on the lake. However, by October he was ready; he took command of the lake and captured Crown Point but found Ticonderoga too strong and the season too advanced. Consequently, he relinquished Crown Point and withdrew, planning to wait until spring. It was to join Carleton and Burgoyne on Lake Champlain that John Savage and his party were heading.

At Cambridge Mountain, near Skenesborough, they met two men, whom they took prisoner. The men told Captain Savage

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Minutes of the Albany County Committee of Correspondence, 1: 640.

¹¹⁵ Journal of John Savage, p. 2.

that they were of Colonel Seth Warner's regiment and that the British had evacuated Crown Point.

The party did an about-face and headed for New York, since chances of reaching Canada looked slim indeed. They made camp on Hoosick Mountain and contemplated their situation. What were their chances of getting through to New York? Poor, it appeared, for so large a party; it was decided that most would stay behind, and hopefully out of sight, until Captain Savage returned for them.

Savage and his little group, which included Benjamin Ingraham, Joseph Potter, Cornelius Ryan, and John Claauß, headed south, traveling by night and hiding by day. The way was long and tedious and fraught with danger. Every where the militia and rangers scoured the woods in a relentless search for the feared Tories; food and shelter were hard to find. They joined another party at Waterbury, Connecticut and journeyed on to Guildford, where they boarded a vessel bound for Long Island. They landed there two days later on 14 December 1776.

On 20 December Benjamin Ingraham, Cornelius Ryan, and Joseph Potter enlisted as privates in the King's American Regiment, commanded by Colonel Edmund Fanning. John Savage, with a commission as captain in the Regiment, was dispatched to fetch the rest of his men. He and John Claauß were apprehended in the Nine Partners and tried at Fishkill. Both were imprisoned at Kingston, and neither ever made it back to the Regiment. Indeed, Claauß may never have enlisted--certainly,

he denied it vehemently enough during his trial, and his name does not appear on any of the extant muster rolls.¹¹⁶

In this portrayal of the lives of some men in an ordinary rural community in New York during the decade before the outbreak of hostilities in the Revolutionary War, Benjamin Ingraham may be regarded as a prototype of the ordinary loyal citizen. Much of what has been written would apply equally to any Loyalist from the ranks of the small farmer, small businessman, or "mechanic," but, of course, not all. Benjamin Ingraham is pictured against the background of developments in King's District, of the reactions of its inhabitants to the events of this turbulent period of history, and the resultant discord and strife engendered among them. That the Ingrahams were involved goes without saying; exactly how and how much they were involved is, at times but not always, a matter of conjecture because of the dearth of family records.

The question of motivation, "one of the most elusive of historical problems," according to Pauline Maier, has also been considered.¹¹⁷ The people of King's District appear to

¹¹⁶ For an account of the journey to New York see The Journal of John Savage, p. 2; Claims of the American Loyalists, vol. 26, pp. 23-27, Series I, MG14, A012, PAC; Minutes of the Committee and of the First Commission for Detecting & Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York (New York Historical Society Collections, 1924), pp. 81, 99, 100, and 142.

¹¹⁷ Pauline Maier, From Resistance to Revolution (New York: Alfred Knopf, Inc., 1972; reprint ed., New York: Vintage Books, 1974), p. xiv.

have been a conservative lot right up until the winter of 1775; then events began to polarize the community, slowly at first but with increasing tempo until it reached its full intensity in the summer of 1776. But then, of course, by this time the Revolution was well under way and the Declaration of Independence had already been signed on 4 July. Without the private papers of at least some of the families involved, it is impossible to assess individual motivation in the choice of sides; even with such documents, one still could not be certain because so many factors enter into the picture, not the least of which is personality.

Nevertheless, certain patterns do emerge from a study of the facts. It would appear at first glance that the land question was not an influencing factor in the choice of sides, since, while all the inhabitants were involved, all did not align themselves with the same political faction. Some historians have asserted that the farmers in New York tended to line up against the local patroon.¹¹⁸ If this were true, King's District should have been solidly Loyalist, since the Schuylers and the Van Rensselaers were active Patriots. Others have argued that the small farmers followed the

¹¹⁸ Brown, *The King's Friends*, p. 102; Mark, *Agrarian Conflicts in Colonial New York, 1711-1775*, p. 201; George Dangerfield, *Chancellor Robert R. Livingston of New York, 1746-1813* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1960), p. 20.

political lead of the landlord.¹¹⁹ But, as we have seen, King's District was far from unanimous in its support of the American cause. When it came to the question of settling the land disputes, some put their faith in the King, others in the Continental Congress, but this faith, far from being confined merely to land titles, usually reached out to all other political and economic issues as well. Some identified the American cause with the Schuylers and the Van Rensselaers and were alienated immediately; others, with a more substantial claim to their land, had less to fear from the patroons. But, generally speaking, there seems to have been more at issue than land titles. The surviving records are not nearly complete enough to enable the student to reach any reliable conclusion on the relationship between land claims and political persuasion. As a matter of fact, it is impossible to determine the exact location of many of the Loyalists' homes. Furthermore, even if one were to discover that the Ingrahams, for instance, had no problem regarding title to their land, how could the political split in the family be explained? It seems then that, while the land issue was of paramount importance in King's District in the 1770s, there is no evidence that it was a significant factor in motivating the inhabitants in their choice of political factions.

¹¹⁹Brown, "The American Farmer during the Revolution: Rebel or Loyalist?", Agricultural History 42 (1968): 327-338; Brown, The King's Friends, pp. 103-105.

Religious affiliation is more likely to have been a contributing factor, but even in this respect the cleavage was not clear cut. While it seems safe to say that in King's District Anglicans tended towards Loyalism and Congregationalists largely were Patriots, there were enough exceptions to rule out any flat assertion that Tories were Anglicans and Anglicans were Tories. However, in New Concord at least most of the Anglicans seem to have been Loyalists in the first years of the Revolution. There are several reasons for this.

In the first place, the Anglicans were a minority group surrounded by a Congregationalist majority. A modern historian has discovered from his intensive study of one single community in this period that war-time battles between its Loyalists and Patriots were "related to prewar animosities between ethnic groups, political rivals, churches, and even neighbours."¹²⁰ More than likely, human nature being what it is, a like conclusion, at least in some degree, could be reached for King's District, or virtually any other community of the time in the Thirteen Colonies. The Anglicans in New Concord, however, do not appear to have been mistreated; before the Revolution they even shared the same church building with other denominations. Nevertheless, they were a

¹²⁰ John Shy, "The American Revolution: The Military Conflict Considered as a Revolutionary War" in Stephen G. Kurtz and James H. Hutson, eds., Essays on the American Revolution (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973), p. 135. The study referred to by Shy is Adrian Leiby, The Hackensack Valley in the American Revolutionary War (New Brunswick, N.J.: 1962), p. 20.

minority and, as such, tended to be a closely-knit group, and, like other minority groups, were inclined towards Loyalism.¹²¹

More than religious faith bound the New Concord Anglicans together--they were connected by kinship as well. A glance at the genealogy of Hannah Tomlinson Ingraham serves to illustrate. The Tomlinsons of Derby, Connecticut were related to the Chatfields of the same place through several marriages. The Ingraham family of New Concord had, through the Tomlinsons and Chatfields, kinship connections with many of the local Anglican families--the Blackmans, the Holbrooks, the Johnsons, the Pettits, the Woodwardes, and the Woosters, to name a few. This is only one strand in a tangled web of kinship that included not only other Anglicans like the Barretts but Congregationalists like the Clarks who were also related to the Woosters.¹²² It is perhaps significant that John Ingraham, who married into the non-Anglican Clark family, was, like the Clarks, not a Loyalist.

¹²¹William H. Nelson, The American Tory (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961; reprint, Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), p. 91.

¹²²See Samuel Orcutt, Henry Tomlinson and His Descendants in America (New Haven: Press of Price Lee & Adkin Co., 1891); William C. Sharpe, The Chatfield Family (Seymour, Conn.: n.p., 1896); Donald Lines Jacobus, "The Chatfield Family of Derby, Conn.," New England Genealogical and Historical Register 78 (1924): 259-265; Samuel Orcutt and Ambrose Beardsley, The History of the Old Town of Derby, Conn., 1642-1880 with Biographies and Genealogies (Springfield, Mass.: Press of Springfield Publishing Company, 1880).

Finally, their religious beliefs themselves acted as a bond uniting the New Concord Anglicans. Respect for authority was one of the tenets of their faith. "The bands of society would be dissolved, the harmony of the world confounded, and the order of nature subverted," the Reverend Thomas Bradbury Chandler, one of the polemicists for Anglicanism, wrote, "if reverence, respect, and obedience might be refused to those whom the constitution has vested with the highest authority."¹²³ At every service the Anglicans reaffirmed their loyalty to the King, prayed for him and his officials, and heard sermons extolling the virtues and benefits of obedience to authority.¹²⁴ Parson Bostwick, a true shepherd to his flock, influenced and held them together to such an extent that it is doubtful if they were affected by the extravagant exhortations of Thomas Allen, if indeed they even went to hear him. John Savage, too, helped to hold them together; this popular, persuasive, and prosperous farmer became their political leader. The New Concord Anglicans were a cohesive minority, held together by ties of faith, friendship, kinship, and respect for their leaders.

But their reasons for adhering to the Loyalist cause

¹²³Quoted in Calhoun, The Loyalists in Revolutionary America, p. 217.

¹²⁴See Calhoun, The Loyalists in Revolutionary America, pp. 208-217; Alexander Flick, Loyalism in New York during the American Revolution (New York: AMS Press, 1970; first published in 1901), pp. 9-10; John Calam, Parsons and Pedagogues (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), pp. 64-123.

were not necessarily ideological; in most cases, they were anything but that. One of the main burdens of Rick Ashton's study of New York Loyalism was to demonstrate "how weakly ideological considerations affected loyalists' choices, in comparison with immediate and personal needs."¹²⁵ Certainly, there were always personal considerations in choosing. John Shy wrote that "a majority of the population were the people who were dubious, afraid, uncertain, indecisive, many of whom felt that there was nothing at stake that could justify involving themselves and their families in extreme hazard and suffering."¹²⁶ Eventually, however, they were driven by events and circumstances to take a stand, perhaps bewildered to find themselves vigorously supporting a cause which deep in their hearts they did not believe in. Many found themselves changing sides, some even more than once; a few, no doubt, even managed to maintain a somewhat precarious neutrality.

"A few highly articulate individuals," Rick Ashton wrote, "made conscious and deliberate choices of allegiance; others had their choices made for them by the movements of the British army, the harassment of revolutionary committees, or the habit of deference."¹²⁷ With the three older Ingrahams,

¹²⁵ Rick J. Ashton, "The Loyalist Experience in New York, 1763-1789," p. 211.

¹²⁶ Shy, "The American Revolution: The Military Conflict Considered as a Revolutionary War," p. 147.

¹²⁷ Ashton, "The Loyalist Experience in New York, 1763-1789," p. 3.

Benjamin, father and son, and Abijah, perhaps it was deference to authority, that of the church, which influenced them in the first place to be Loyalists. Benjamin, junior, seems never to have considered any other course. In his memorial to the Commission for Looking into the Claims of the American Loyalists he asserted that "from the beginning of the late Trouble he attached himself to the Party of Government, and refused to join in any of the Cabals or unlawful Meetings of the Americans."¹²⁸ From the start he allied himself with the Loyalist cause, as did many of his friends, neighbours, and fellow parishioners. Benjamin, senior, on the other hand was one of those who changed his mind. Refusing to sign the Association, he was arrested and locked up in the Fleet Prison, where he soon became ill. Reflection led him to believe that, at his age, he had two alternatives,--to die in prison or to defect to the other cause. He chose the latter. It was different with Abijah; finally, forced to declare himself, he made his way to New York and enlisted in the same regiment as his brother.

The two younger Ingrahams, Samuel and John, became Patriots. During the earlier years of the Revolution, while their brothers were becoming involved with the Loyalists and while it still looked as if the British were winning, they were still at home with their father. By the time it became

¹²⁸ Claims of the American Loyalists, vol. 26, p. 23, Series I, MG14, A012, PAC.

mandatory that they declare themselves, much had happened. Burgoyne had been defeated at Saratoga and the French had entered the war. The Patriots had gained the upper hand in King's District, and there were acts of violence against those who did not support them. Parson Bostwick, in the bad books of the Great Barrington Committee and forbidden to leave town, was no longer influential in New Concord. John Savage was in prison. Their father had been forced to change sides and sign the Association. John, in addition to all this, had become involved with the Clarks, who were Patriots and Congregationalists, and married one of them.

The Ingrahams, like all the rest of the King's District inhabitants, were profoundly affected by the events, circumstances, and contacts of the pre-Revolutionary period. Each was touched and responded in his own way. To say that the choice of sides was determined by the land issue, church affiliation, peer pressure, family connections, or any one or any combination of such influences is to over-simplify the question of motivation. It was the response to the influences that counted; that response was purely personal, each individual reacting to his own particular set of circumstances.

CHAPTER III

BENJAMIN INGRAHAM: PROVINCIAL SOLDIER

The King's American Regiment was in its infancy when Benjamin Ingraham enlisted in it in December 1776; a muster parade, likely its first, was held at ten o'clock in the morning on the day before Christmas in the presence of Colonel Edward Winslow, Muster Master General of the Provincial Forces.¹ During the same month three other new provincial regiments were raised in the New York City area--John Bayard's King's Orange Rangers, Beverly Robinson's Loyal American Regiment, and Montfort Brown's Prince of Wales Regiment. In the course of the previous summer General Howe had issued warrants for the recruiting of Oliver DeLancey's New York Loyalists, Cortland Skinner's New Jersey Loyalists, and Robert Rogers' Queen's Rangers.² Thus, by early 1777, there were in the New York City region seven Provincial Regiments, composed entirely of loyal American officers and men.

The Loyalist regiments had been somewhat slow in getting organized. The typical American Loyalist, "conservative,

¹Captain McAlpine's Journal, 23 December 1776, PANB.

²William Odber Raymond, "Loyalists in Arms," New Brunswick Historical Society Collections 5 (1904): 202, 206; Paul H. Smith, Loyalists and Redcoats, pp. 48-50.

cautious, abhorring violence," Paul Smith remarked, was generally "uncertain of his position and was disinclined to commit himself boldly."³ He had absolute confidence in the ability and desire of the British Government to put down the rebellion, a confidence which began to wane somewhat as time passed and the military leaders neglected to follow up their victories over the Continental army, ignored the counsel of leading Loyalists who knew the country and the colonists, and allowed their soldiers to plunder and molest not only the Rebels but also those who supported their cause at so dear a price. Seldom could the colonists be accepted into the British army on their own terms; always they feared being treated as inferiors. Consequently, there was not the rush to join the colours that the British Government anticipated when in 1777 it changed its policy regarding use of the Loyalists.⁴

The British plan for organizing the Loyalists was to raise provincial regiments "for rank." Prominent Loyalists were to be given the command of regiments and the right to nominate officers on condition that the officer recruit a specified number of men within a specified period of time. The commanders chosen were usually able to recruit from among those who knew them in their own neighbourhood. They

³ Smith, Loyalists and Redcoats, p. 58.

⁴ See Smith, Loyalists and Redcoats; Raymond, "Loyalists in Arms"; Leonard W. Labaree, "The Nature of American Loyalism"; Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society 54 (1944): 15-58; Nelson, The American Tory, p. 115.

personally bore many of the recruiting expenses, were ineligible for half-pay after the regiment disbanded, and drew full salaries only after their corps had reached three-quarters strength.⁵ Under such conditions, General Howe commissioned Edmund Fanning to raise the King's American Regiment; Fanning, in turn, commissioned John Savage to recruit and command a company in the regiment. Many of these recruits, like Benjamin Ingraham, served for the duration of the War; Savage himself never made it back to the Regiment after his arrest in the Nine Partners in January 1777.

Benjamin Ingraham commenced his military career at Flat Bush on Long Island. Here he "took the shilling" on 20 December 1776 and embarked on the difficult transition from civilian to military life. After the homespun and linsey-woolseys he was used to wearing on the farm, he must have felt somewhat self-conscious when he first donned his new uniform, with its green tunic, white trousers, brown leggings, and felt hat, and, of course, the pewter buttons bearing the letters RP for Royal Provincials.⁶ Over these colourful garments went a leather waist belt, fitted with a sword and a fourteen-inch bayonet. His cartouche box, in which to carry

⁵ Smith, Loyalists and Redcoats, pp. 34-35.

⁶ Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, Father Knickerbocker Rebels (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1969), pp. 223-224; Philip Katcher, The American Provincial Corps, 1775-1784 (Reading, Eng: Osprey Publishing Company, 1973), *passim*.

his cartridges, was fitted to the wide belt worn over his left shoulder. On his right shoulder he carried his "Brown Bess," a smooth bore flintlock musket with a priming pan. This fourteen-pound weapon had a barrel forty-four inches long. Benjamin must also learn to carry when on the march a knapsack containing extra clothing, a brush and blackball, a blanket, a fifth part of the equipment for his tent, a canteen, and a haversack with provisions for four days. All this equipment weighed about sixty pounds and must have made hand-to-hand combat more than a little difficult.⁷

For his services, combat and otherwise, Benjamin was paid the sum of eight pence a day as a private, although a glance at the regimental pay abstracts would lead one to believe that sixpence a day was the rate. Actually a soldier's pay was divided into two parts: the first, sixpence a day, defrayed at least a portion of the cost of his food; the second, tuppence, was applied partly to the expenses for clothing but mainly to a variety of little contributions to various vague agencies and officials. Certainly, most private soldiers never saw much, if any, of their meagre pay.⁸

However, if, as a pamphleteer in London wrote in

⁷ Edward F. Curtis, The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution (New Haven, Conn.: Yale U. Press, 1926), pp. 15-22; Alan Kemp, The British Army in the American Revolution (London: Almark Publishing Company, 1973), passim.

⁸ Curtis, The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution, pp. 22-23.

1775, because of a lack of money the common soldier was denied "the little enjoyments and recreations which even the meanest of men can call their own in any country," there was hope for the future.⁹ General Howe issued a proclamation on 21 April 1777 which promised to every private soldier upon his discharge a grant of fifty acres of land and to every non-commissioned officer of two hundred acres. The grants were to be "in the Colonies wherein the Corps have been or shall be raised or in such other Colony as his Majesty shall see fit."¹⁰ Although in the end the grants turned out in all cases to be "in such other Colony," the recruits quite naturally had visions of a future life on choice lands seized from the defeated rebels in their home neighbourhood, augmented, of course, by the return of their own property which had been confiscated by the local Committee.

No doubt the land grants made a favourite topic of barrack-room conversation among Benjamin and his friends, for, as a rule, the men in a regiment were not strangers to one another. The King's American Regiment was composed originally of men from the Hudson valley and the area around New York City, although later recruits were added in Rhode Island and the South. The muster rolls list the names of such King's District and Kinderhook men as Abijah Ingraham, Joseph Potter,

⁹Ibid., p. 24.

¹⁰Proclamation of General Howe, 21 April 1777, Item 499, Vol. 1, British Headquarters Papers, MG23, B1, PAC.

Cornelius Ryan, Richard Powers, David and Josiah Woodward, Timothy Ryan, Josiah Lockwood, and the Taylor brothers.

Major James Grant, too, and his two sons, Lieutenants James and Sweton Grant, came from Albany County.

Colonel Fanning himself was the son of a tavern keeper on Long Island. After graduating from Yale and winning a Berkeley Scholarship, he moved to Hillsboro, North Carolina, where he studied law and became a close friend of Governor William Tryon. Later, when he practised law and dabbled in politics, he ran afoul of the Regulators, a band of North Carolina frontiersmen dedicated to reform. It has been said that far from being the rogue his Regulator enemies accused him of being, his crime was that he was Tryon's friend.¹¹ Once he was dragged from the courthouse and publicly whipped in the streets, and the next day allowed to leave town "on condition that he ran till he was out of their sight." The mob then destroyed his beautiful home, built with what they believed to be money stolen from the public. The uprisings were finally put down by Tryon and the militia, and the Regulators received some very harsh treatment indeed.¹² When Tryon was transferred to New York, Fanning went with him as his private secretary.

¹¹ Carl Bridenbaugh, Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952), p. 162.

¹² John Richard Alden, The South in the Revolution, 1763-1789 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957), pp. 156-162.

Tryon, a staunch Loyalist, was at the close of 1776 of course no longer the governor of New York; he had received a commission as general officer in charge of all the provincial troops. Under him and supported by the British Treasury, the life of a Tory soldier was vastly superior to that of a Continental. By comparison the Tory was well clothed while the Rebel was often ragged and bare-footed. Food, too, was better, both in quality and in quantity, in the British and Provincial messes. A typical weekly ration might consist of the following:

7 lbs. of Flour, of the first Quality, made from wholly
Kilndried Wheat
7 lbs. of Beef, or in lieu thereof 4 lbs. of Pork
6 oz. of Butter, or in lieu thereof 8 oz. of Cheese.
3 pints of Pease
½ lb. of Oatmeal ¹³

There were substitutes occasionally to provide variety and to cater to the exigencies of geography, season, and communications.⁶ Rum was a regular and important item in the soldier's ration. The regular allowance was one and one-half gills per day with an additional gill during bad weather or hard duty. In 1776 spruce beer was added as an important part of the diet because of its value as a preventive of scurvy.¹⁴ In 1777 a brewery was established in New York for the manufacture of this popular beverage, and its advertisements appeared each

¹³ Curtis, The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution, p. 89.

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 91-92.

week in Rivington's Royal Gazette and other papers.¹⁵

Plain as this fare may have seemed in comparison with home cooking, it sufficed to maintain the soldier in the daily routine of his duties, most of which were neither emotionally exciting nor intellectually stimulating. There were domestic chores to be performed about the camp, the construction, maintenance, and sometimes even destruction of fortifications, the dull routine of picket duty, and, of course, the inevitable and seemingly endless drill parades. Fairly frequently there was an inspection parade, at which the commanding officer

demanding of the troops that they be punctual and

that their cloaths may be clean, shirts wash'd and button'd, collar and wristband, their hats brush'd and trim'd up, fastened up on one side, their hair cut short and all remnants or badges of the Rebel Service on the cloaths of any of them carefully taken off and conceal'd.¹⁶

The drill and duty routine continued throughout the winter with few interruptions; the officers were determined to get their companies into shape. The Colonel pointed out to his officers what he expected of them--

That they compel the men to be silent and steady, to hold up their heads, and carry their arms properly, that they strictly Charge and require the Sergeants and Corporals to see that the Privates are properly dressed, neat and clean, their Arms & Accoutrements well put on, and that they be kept in good order.¹⁷

¹⁵ Rivington's Royal Gazette, issues in 1777 and after.

¹⁶ Captain McAlpine's Journal, 13 February 1777, PANB.

¹⁷ Ibid., 8 May 1777.

To offset the dullness, musket drill must have provided at least some little challenge, especially since there were twelve separate motions required to load the Brown Bess. Although the expert could fire as many as five rounds per minute, the best that could be expected from the average soldier was two or three.¹⁸ Marksmanship ranked low in priority on the list of skills required of a soldier, and as a result little mention was ever made of target practice. The soldier merely pointed the gun in the general direction of the enemy and fired; chances were good that he might hit somebody. Bayonet practice played a much more important role in the daily drill schedule; great use was made of this weapon in the man-to-man type of combat so frequently resorted to, as, for example, in the Battle of King's Mountain. One very important duty in a conflict widely characterized, as this one was, by surprise attacks and guerrilla warfare was that of the picquet or vidette, as the guard or sentry was usually called. Constant vigilance was of the essence, and remissness was simply not tolerated.

Death was often the penalty for sleeping on sentry duty in that age of swift justice seldom tempered with mercy. Punishment was severe, too, for plundering and stealing, temptation to which must have been great among the miserably paid soldiers seeking a little recreation and excitement.

¹⁸ Curtis, The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution, p. 17.

Commonest was the lash, although occasionally a hapless culprit was hanged. Typical of the sentences of the court-martial was that passed when one Alex McDonald, private soldier, was found guilty of breaking into an enclosure owned by Cornelius Rapalje and attempting to plunder. "The Court having considered the Evidence for and against the Prisoner, together with what he had to offer in his Defense is of the Opinion that he, Alex McDonald, is guilty of the Crime laid to his Charge. . . , and doth therefore sentence him to receive one thousand Lashes on the bare Back with a Cat of Nine Tails." Four others were given by the same court-martial for stealing, or for other dishonest acts, sentences ranging from five hundred to eight hundred lashes.¹⁹ Perhaps what was considered the most serious crime of the common soldier, whether Provincial or Continental, was that of desertion. The penalty for it, usually death, does not seem to have been much of a deterrent; desertion was widespread. The prevalent feeling of the day concerning desertion and the death penalty was clearly expressed by the Pennsylvania Evening Post.

This day, between the hours of twelve and one o'clock, Brint Debadée, a soldier belonging to the tenth Pennsylvania regiment, was shot upon the commons in Philadelphia, pursuant to the sentence of a general court-martial. This unhappy man was in his twenty-fourth year, in the vigor of life, and it is hoped his untimely and dreadful end will be a warning to others, who, when they desert, not only defraud their officer and abuse their country, but are also guilty of the dreadful and heinous crime

¹⁹ Item 3343, Vol. 52, British Headquarters Papers, MG23, B1, PAC.

of perjury. Of his past misconduct he appeared very sensible, and behaved in his last moments with great resignation and calmness, declaring that he sincerely forgave all his enemies and hoped his example would be serviceable to some of his thoughtless brother soldiers. He was attended by the Rev. Mr. Coombe and the Rev. Mr. Rogers. The last gentleman, being a chaplain in the service, delivered to the soldiers present a pathetic address, suitable to the melancholy occasion.²⁰

Although discipline was harsh, there was a brighter side. The regimental officers, with few exceptions, showed a tremendous concern for the welfare and happiness of their men and often formed a very close bond with the non-commissioned officers who served under them.²¹ These men worked together for many years, and mutual trust and understanding must have been a valuable asset to their effective functioning as a unit. Benjamin Ingraham served as a private, a corporal, and a sergeant under Captain Robert Gray throughout most of the seven-year existence of the regiment. Captain Peter Clements, another company commander, was the Ingrahams' next door neighbour in Fredericton for a number of years after 1783, and the two families seem to have been very close.

The strength of the King's American Regiment was normally just under five hundred officers and men. Immediately under Colonel Fanning, and commanding the corps in his absence,

²⁰ Pennsylvania Evening Post, 8 March 1777, quoted in Frank Moore, The Diary of the American Revolution, 2 volumes (New York: Washington Square Press, 1967; first published in 1860), 1: 210.

²¹ Curtis, The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution, p. 28.

was Lieutenant-Colonel George Campbell. Next in line was Major James Grant until his death in 1782 upon which he was succeeded by Major John Coffin. William Watkins was the adjutant and George Thomas the quarter-master. Surgeon Robert Tucker and Mate Alexander Drummond were responsible for the health of the men's bodies and the Reverend Samuel Seabury for that of their souls.

The regiment was divided into ten companies, each commanded by a captain. The colonel, the lieutenant-colonel, and the major each doubled as a company commander, which is to say there were in the corps seven officers with the rank of captain. Each company had in addition two junior officers, either two lieutenants or one lieutenant and one ensign. Each had three sergeants, three corporals, one drummer, and roughly forty private soldiers.²² Eight were regular companies, but two were special as was usual in the regimental organization of the period. One of these was the Grenadier Company, composed of men selected for their height and strong muscular build. In previous days it had been the function of the grenadiers to place themselves near the enemy and hurl grenades; by the late eighteenth century the grenades had passed into oblivion but the grenadier company persisted.²³ At the beginning of the war this company in Fanning's Regiment was

²² Muster Rolls of the King's American Regiment, Vol. 1903, Series 3, RG8, PAC.

²³ Curtis, The Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution, pp. 4-5.

led by Captain Abraham DePeyster, assisted by Lieutenants James DePeyster and William Wightman. The other special company, the Light Infantry, was selected for good marksmanship, slight build, and active temperament.²⁴ This, the company of skirmishers, was led by Captain Thomas Cornwell, assisted by Lieutenants John Burn and James McKay. Later in the war Captain Isaac Attwood's company was changed from a regular to a cavalry company, and Abijah Ingraham became a sergeant in it.

Benjamin Ingraham commenced his military career as a private soldier in the company commanded by Captain John Fuge, aided by Lieutenant David McGeorge and Ensign John Sargent. In the winter of 1777 there were about forty private soldiers in the company; its sergeants were Joseph Baxter, John Dotton, and Hezekiah Wyatt, assisted by Corporals Peter Boyce, Ebenezer Fairchild, and Andrew Feero. The winter provided little in the way of excitement other than the novelty of adjusting to a totally new life style. In February the regiment removed from Flat Bush to new quarters at Jamaica. A further attempt to smarten up the regiment began in March, when Colonel Fanning exhorted his officers to exert themselves to the utmost "in disciplining those men who have so cheerfully stepped forth in defense of true Liberty and the Constitution of their Country." No doubt this led to greater exertion on the parade ground as well as at the whipping post. At the same time General Tryon, in an effort to put the

²⁴ Ibid.

Provincial Forces on "the most respectable footing," directed that "all Negroes, mollatoes, and other Improper Persons who have been admitted into the Corps be immediately discharged." Every attempt was made, too, to maintain cleanliness and sanitation in the camp; barracks and hospitals were to be inspected daily to "see that they are swept clean, and that the straw and sweepings are carried to a proper distance from the doors. Necessary's are to be dug and properly made near each Barrack and Hospital."²⁵

But drill parades and housekeeping duties were not enough to ward off boredom during the long winter; the soldiers craved excitement. The only change in the daily routine occurred on Sundays with church parade, attendance at which was mandatory. The lack of deep religious convictions in many of the troops was reflected in their outrageous behaviour at the services. General Tryon, as the result of his "Displeasure & disapprobation of the Provincials during Divine Service" ordered that one of each company's officers attend the company and take his post in front of them and "be answerable that the Non Commission'd Officers & Privates of his Company stand up during the Service, and sit up during the Sermon, & that a proper decorum of behaviour be observ'd during the whole time of Divine Service." Thus the ungodly were deprived of their entertainment in church. So it was with liquor and staying out at night. There was a roll call at eight in the

²⁵Captain McAlpine's Journal, 18 April 1777.

evening after which no one was allowed out; no soldier was permitted to be "talking loudly or Tumultuously noisy after Nine O'Clock in the Evening under the Penalty of being punished." As an aid to the preservation of peace and quiet, it was forbidden "to Sell Rum, Liquors, or Spirits of any sort to the Troops"; they were expected to get by on their daily allowance of rum. Shooting, "unless by Permission and in the course of Regimental duty," was forbidden--it was a waste of ammunition. There seemed to be very little, indeed, that the weary soldier could do to add a little zest and excitement to his life. But tiresome as his routine might seem, he was unwise to flout the rules, for the promised punishments were more than idle threats; according to the daily orders, courts-martial were routine occurrences. Life in the King's American Regiment during the winter of 1777 must have been tedious; fortunately, there was a little action in the spring to elevate the flagging spirits.²⁶

Excitement ran high in May when the regiment received its first orders for active duty, although only about one hundred men were involved. The Grenadiers, the Light Infantry, and a draft from Captain DePeyster's company were to march under Major Grant to the east side of Long Island. There was action once more on the last day of the month, this time requiring six companies. Benjamin Ingraham was doomed to disappointment again, for Captain Fuge's company was one of

²⁶ Ibid.

four ordered to stay behind. However, the entire regiment was due for a change; a short time later they broke camp at Jamaica and moved to Kingsbridge, at the upper end of Manhattan, where a wooden bridge connected the Island with the mainland. Here were concentrated most of the provincial regiments of the region--the New York Loyalists, the King's Orange Rangers, the Prince of Wales Regiment, and others--with Major General Vaughan in command. On 6 July 1777 the Inspector-General held an inspection parade of all the troops at Kingsbridge. The King's American Regiment were on parade at five in the morning, "with their Arm's and Accoutrements in the best Order, and Drest in the neatest, Cleanliest manner & most Soldier like Manner." After the inspection they divided into work parties and carried on with the day's duties; perhaps they had already started the huge barrack-building project which was to consume so much time and energy later in the autumn.²⁷

But the soldiers at Kingsbridge found other things to do than work. The city of New York with all its wonders was near by. There were local taverns, although an order of General Howe forced the owners to close them at eight o'clock on the penalty of imprisonment and forfeiture of furniture.²⁸ Then too there were the enticing waters of the river in the heat of the summer, but, since "Several Extraordinary's were like to have happened from Soldiers Bathing near the Bridge,"

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ New York Mercury, 10 January 1777.

that diversion soon was forbidden. Just to make sure the order was obeyed, a guard consisting of one sergeant and twelve men was posted near the bridge. "Bathing in the heat of the day" was believed to be "prejudicial to the health."²⁹

It may even have been swimming in the Hudson that caused Benjamin Ingraham to become so ill in August that he was committed to the general hospital in Harlem.³⁰ Or perhaps he was stricken with the same contagion as took a colleague, Henry Nase, to the same hospital about the same time. "The Severity of hardship a Soldier is exposed to . . . not agreeing with me," Nase wrote in his diary, "It threw me into a fever. Some time in July I was sent to the Gen.¹ Hosp. at Harlem, the Name of a Hosp.¹ is frightful but the Care that was taken of me is beyond imagination."³¹ Whether or not he was as favourably impressed with Harlem Hospital Benjamin Ingraham did not say, but certainly it was preferable to languishing in sick bay at camp. It had been decided shortly before that "all Men under Inflammatory Fevers or Bloody Fluxes be, without delay sent to Haarlem Hospital" instead of keeping them in camp till their "disorder becomes desperate." The sick men were to take with them their blankets and three shirts," Cleanliness of Linnen and the Change of it being

²⁹ Captain McAlpine's Journal, 20 July 1777.

³⁰ Muster Rolls of the King's American Regiment, M/f A400, PANB.

³¹ Henry Nase's Diary, 62 Rep. No. 368, New Brunswick Museum, M/f A400, PANB.

essential to recovery."³²

Benjamin Ingraham must have seen a fair amount of the city of New York by this time. Unfortunately the first part of his diary is missing, the section which most certainly would have contained his impressions of the first city he ever visited; his descriptions of other towns, such as Charleston and Savannah, are vivid and revealing. New York had been described as the "pleasantest and best built city in British America." The visitor, it was said, approaching by way of the East River, was at first conscious only of an imposing seaport with its two hundred and fifty warehouses, sugar houses, and distilleries, with only here and there a spire or a dome towering above them. But a drive through the town was certain to change the first impressions. Nearly two thousand houses, in many parts of town the epitome of elegance in brick and wood, lined the "paved and spacious" streets. Old Dutch buildings exhibited their stepped gable ends; newer residences presented fronts in the Italian style, with elaborate painting and scalloping.³³ The mansions of the Wattses, the Kennedys, the Stevensons, the Livingstons, and the Van Cortlandts faced on Bowling Green, and a few blocks away stood the miserable little wooden houses of the poor,--the day labourers, dockhands, carters, carpenters, widows.³⁴ Already,

³² Captain McAlpine's Journal, 19 July 1777.

³³ Carl Bridenbaugh, Cities in Revolt: Urban Life in America, 1743-1776 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955), pp. 16, 42.

³⁴ Wertenbaker, Father Knickerbocker Rebels, p. 15.

forerunners of the modern skyscrapers were in evidence in New York; four- and five-storeyed houses were the rule, not the exception, and an object of interest to visitors from the other American cities.

Among the five major cities of the Thirteen Colonies New York ranked first neither in size nor in importance.³⁵ In 1775 it had a population of only 25,000 as compared with Philadelphia's 40,000. New York, its population composed mainly of British and Dutch ethnic groups, did not attract immigrants as Philadelphia did and consequently lacked the latter's cosmopolitan atmosphere.³⁶ However, the year 1776 had seen a profound change in the city. The approach of hostilities had driven off great numbers of the citizens until in early 1776 "the town was but a hollow shell."³⁷ The arrival of Washington's army after his withdrawal from Boston in June of that year injected new life into the deserted streets and houses. Almost overnight New York became an anthill of activity, the military capital of America.

This, too, was soon to change with the British military and naval invasion led by the Howe brothers during the heat of the summer. The British, with the assistance of the Hessian soldiers, occupied Long Island towards the end of

³⁵Philadelphia, 40,000; New York, 25,000; Boston, 16,000; Charleston, 12,000; Newport, 11,000.

³⁶Bridenbaugh, Cities in Revolt, p. 16.

³⁷Wertebaker, Father Knickerbocker Rebels, p. 76.

August and landed on Manhattan on 15 September. Washington and his Continentals withdrew to Harlem, then to White Plains, and finally into the hilly country in the neighbourhood of North Castle. All that was left to the Patriots was Fort Washington, near the northern end of Manhattan Island, and it too fell to General Howe on 16 November. General Washington retreated to New Jersey, leaving New York in British hands where it remained until the close of the war.

New York underwent yet another transformation. From being the military centre of America it now became the Loyalist capital, as it was when Benjamin Ingraham first saw it. True, the military were still very much in evidence; the red coats of the British and the blue coats of the Hessians were to be seen everywhere, but soon they were interspersed with refugees, easily identifiable by the bow or ribbon of red, the symbolic colour of loyalty to the King, worn on their hats.³⁸ The Tories came in great numbers, fleeing from persecution and bodily harm in their own neighbourhoods, not only from the Hudson valley and other New York counties but also from all parts of the Thirteen Colonies, from New Jersey and Pennsylvania, from Connecticut and Virginia. They poured in, an endless stream, revitalizing the stagnating life of the city, stimulating trade in the shops and taverns and coffee houses, straining the coffers of the British Treasury Department, and aggravating the already acute housing

³⁸ Ibid., p. 103.

shortage.³⁹

The housing shortage had been seriously worsened by the great fire which swept New York in the early hours of 21 September, leaving a path of ruin a mile long and destroying four hundred and ninety-three houses.⁴⁰ The fire broke out in a little wooden house near the Whitehall Slip, and the brisk southwest wind blew the flames to other wooden structures with incredible swiftness. No bells were there to sound the alarm, all having been melted down to make cannons for the Continentals. Terrified people rushed screaming from blazing buildings, men worked frantically on bucket brigades and fire engines, and the flames swept on, consuming alike the huts of the poor and the mansions of the rich. Despite the allegations of Judge Thomas Jones that the fire was set by the rebels, the origin of this "scene of horror grand beyond description" remains still a mystery.⁴¹

However, the frightened populace, milling frantically in the New York streets on that awesome night, were aware of no mystery. Many times, and in many places the frenzied mob apprehended the culprit and dealt with him summarily. One poor drunken unfortunate, who chose the wrong night for a

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 77, 102.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 101.

⁴¹ New York Mercury, 28 September 1776; Judge Thomas Jones, History of New York during the Revolutionary War, 2 volumes (New York: New York Historical Society, 1879), 1: 120-121.

spree, was seized and hanged, ironically on a tavern signpost. Another man, caught with bundles of "matches" on his person, was unceremoniously tossed into the holocaust. Still another was bayoneted and hung by his feet.⁴²

Violence of this sort was, needless to say, characteristic of the times and, in a sense, an expression of the emotional turmoil of the people, Whig or Tory. The British and Hessian troops did not improve the situation. To violence and carousing they added plundering and vandalism, to the point where Judge Jones complained that "from the whole conduct of the Army during the course of the War, it seemed as if the suppression of a dangerous rebellion was but a secondary consideration."⁴³ However, there was a considerable abatement in this sort of licentiousness and disorder when the eighty-year-old General Robertson became the commandant of the city. The first act of the octogenarian was a proclamation to put an end to the misconduct of the troops.⁴⁴

In the fall and winter of 1776-1777 the recruitment of the Provincial Forces added a new dimension to the military population of New York. Men came in scores to Waldron Blaau's in Little Dock Street near the Exchange or the Bull's Head

⁴² Isaac Newton Phelps Stokes, Iconography of Manhattan Island, 6 volumes (New York: Robert H. Dodd, 1915-1928; reprint, New York: Arno Press, 1967), 5: 1020.

⁴³ Jones, History of New York during the Revolutionary War, 1: 139.

⁴⁴ Wertenbaker, Father Knickerbocker Rebels, p. 104.

Tavern in the Bowery or the Queen's Head Tavern "to put their names to the muster rolls and receive their uniforms, muskets, and powder."⁴⁵ In the spring of 1777 a local newspaper noted: "The Several Provincial Corps already raised are mostly cloathed and make a very handsome Appearance. Their Uniform is chiefly Green faced with White, and made of the best materials."⁴⁶

Benjamin Ingraham's green coat did not mingle with the reds and the blues of the British and the Hessians in August 1777. As well he may even have missed the excitement of 29 August when General Orders commanded "All the Troops Encamp'd at King's bridge to hold themselves in readiness to Strick their Tents & March at the Shortest Notice."⁴⁷ The enemy had launched an attack on Long Island and Staten Island and had made a diversion with about 1,000 men in the Kingsbridge neighbourhood. Tryon led the Kingsbridge troops out to drive them off, "but taking the step without Gen. Sir Henry Clinton's directions, was Countermanded."⁴⁸ There was little else the Loyalist general could do but bow to his superior and lead his men back to camp, leaving the Rebels to the British.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 222.

⁴⁶ New York Mercury, 14 April 1777.

⁴⁷ Captain McAlpine's Journal, 29 August 1777.

⁴⁸ The Kemble Papers, 2 volumes (New York Historical Society Collections, 1883-1884), 1: 127.

Likewise Benjamin may have missed the funeral ceremony of Ensign McNeil, but probably not since it took place on 6 September. On the ninth the Provincials again received orders to be ready to move. Two days later they were told to march over Dykeman's bridge to their new "ground" at ten the following morning. Clothes were to be carefully packed in knapsacks and nothing left behind. In the new camp they were to "prepare proper necessary Houses" immediately, and officers were to see "that no Soldier be permitted to ease himself in the Camp without being severely Punish'd for so shameful and dirty a Practice." It was the desire of the commander that the new camp be kept clean and sanitary. At the end of the month a minor shuffle among the personnel of the regiment gave Benjamin a new company commander, Captain Robert Gray, under whom he was destined to serve during the remainder of the War.⁴⁹

The muster roll of 2 October 1777 revealed that Benjamin Ingraham was sick again.⁵⁰ Hopefully he was in better health the following day for the King's American Regiment, accompanied by the King's Orange Rangers, marched at five in the afternoon to Spuyten Duyvil Creek on their first real military assignment, the capture of Forts Clinton and

⁴⁹ Captain McAlpine's Journal, 6 September 1777, 9 September 1777, 11 September 1777, 30 September 1777.

⁵⁰ Muster Rolls of the King's American Regiment, M/f A400, PANB.

Montgomery.⁵¹ General Burgoyne being at this time in desperate straits in the Saratoga region, General Clinton had decided to create a diversion to the rear of the American army under Gates in the hope of providing at least a respite for Burgoyne. The Americans had blocked the half-mile width of the Hudson at Anthony's Nose by means of a cheveaux-de-frise made of heavy timber, reinforced by a boom and heavy iron chain stretching from shore to shore. At this point the river runs through a steep ravine with banks a thousand feet high on either side. Perched on rocky eminences on the west side, Fort Clinton and Fort Montgomery stood watch over the blockade below. General Clinton was determined that the British, not the Americans, would do the watching over this strategic point.⁵²

For the capture of the two strategic forts Clinton, dispatched 4,000 British, Hessian, and Provincial troops, the regiments to rendezvous at Tarrytown: The King's American Regiment and the King's Orange Rangers arrived at Spuyten Duyvil in the early evening and embarked in flat boats for Tarrytown, where they landed a few hours later. They "March^d

⁵¹Captain McAlpine's Journal, 3 October 1777; Henry Nase's Diary, p. 3; Kemble Papers, 1: 133.

⁵²For a complete account of the capture of Forts Clinton and Montgomery see Christopher Ward, The War of the Revolution, 2 volumes (New York: Macmillan Company, 1952), 2: 513-520; Hon. John W. Fortescue, History of the British Army, 13 volumes (London: Macmillan Co., 1899-1930), 3: 237-238; Sir Henry Clinton, The American Rebellion (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), p. 75.

to Youngs House where a party of Rebels was Posted who retired on [their] approach, leaving their Arms etc. to be destroyed by their Pursuers."⁵³ Here they met the British and the Hessians, and all re-embarked before daylight on the fourth. They convoyed up the river to Verplanck's Point, where they landed on the fifth and where once again "the Rebels ran away without firing a Shot, leaving One Nine Pounder ready charged, and an Ammunition waggon which we had pleasure burning."⁵⁴

Clinton's plan had been to lead the enemy to believe that an attack was intended on General Putnam's forces on the east bank at Peekskill. The ruse worked, and Putnam, collecting 2,000 men, hurried into the eastern highlands to protect the forts there. Clinton, delighted, pressed on to his real objective without delay.

Clinton and the larger part of his expedition crossed the river to Stony Point under the cover of a dense fog early in the morning of the sixth and marched through the rugged, precipitous country to Fort Clinton and Fort Montgomery, which they reached late in the afternoon. The force, divided into two parts, launched the attacks simultaneously; the Rebel garrisons surrendered almost simultaneously shortly after. The King's American Regiment and the King's Orange Rangers missed out on the final phase of the excitement; they

⁵³ Henry Nase's Diary, p. 3.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

had been left behind to defend Verplanck's Point just in case Putnam should return.

Clinton withdrew to Kingsbridge, leaving a detachment to open a passage through the cheveaux-de-frise and to break the boom and iron chain. Navigation now open on the Hudson, a force of 2,000 under General Vaughan was detached by galley up the river with orders "to feel [their] way to General Burgoyne and do [their] utmost to assist his operations, or even join him if required."⁵⁵ Both the King's American Regiment and Bayard's King's Orange Rangers were included in this expedition.⁵⁶ It began to look as if Benjamin Ingraham might make it to General Burgoyne after all.

Vaughan's "utmost to assist" consisted mainly of burning and destruction. The first to suffer was the town of Esopus, later Kingston, which was razed on 15 October. General Vaughan informed Clinton that he judged it "proper to stop and destroy the place, lest the works and troops there might interrupt his communications with Fort Clinton or harass him on his return."

"In the afternoon," wrote one of the participants, "the troops landed at Esopus, attacked and took possession of the batteries, and, on marching up to the town, the rebels

⁵⁵Clinton, The American Rebellion, pp. 79-80.

⁵⁶Henry Nase's Diary, p. 4; Captain McAlpine's Journal, 6 October 1777; William H. Sabine, ed., Historical Memoirs of William Smith, 1763-1778 (New York: New York Times, 1956), 2:245.

concealed in the houses firing upon the troops from the windows occasioned every house, except for Col. Lefferts' of New York, to be set on fire and consumed, this was effected with the loss of only two men wounded."⁵⁷ A New York newspaper gave a version from a somewhat different point of view.

The conflagration was general in a few minutes, and in a very short time that pleasant and wealthy town was reduced to ashes; one house only escaped the flames. Thus by the wantonness of power the third town in New York for size, elegance, and wealth is reduced to a heap of rubbish, and the once happy inhabitants (who are chiefly of Dutch descent) obliged to solicit shelter among strangers; and those who lately possessed elegant and convenient dwellings obliged to take up with such huts as they can find to defend them from the cold blasts of approaching winter.⁵⁸

The expedition proceeded as far as Livingston's Manor, about forty-five miles from Albany. Since Vaughan was threatened with 5,000 enemy troops on his right and 1,500 on his left, he was unable to communicate with Burgoyne.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, before returning to New York, in response to Clinton's directive of 22 October, they consigned to the flames the homes of the late Judge Livingston and his son Robert, a member of the Continental Congress.⁶⁰ Most of the village of Haverstraw, where William Smith had resided, was

⁵⁷ Rivington's New York Gazette, 25 October 1777.

⁵⁸ New York Packet, 23 October 1777, quoted in Moore, Diary of the American Revolution, p. 259.

⁵⁹ Clinton, The American Rebellion, p. 60.

⁶⁰ Rivington's New York Loyal Gazette, 25 October 1777.

destroyed also. Smith wrote in his diary:

I received this Day a Letter from Colo. Hay advising me that on Saturday 11th Instant all his Buildings were burnt at Haverstraw--His Negro George ran away & 2 Horses carried off. The Burning by Colo: Fanning's and Colo. Bayard's Regiments who ordered mine and my Brother Thomas's Houses to be untouched and yet he says their Soldiers did plunder my Effects and break open my House.⁶¹

Before the end of October the King's American Regiment was back at Kingsbridge. Vaughan had failed in the objective of reaching Burgoyne; it was too late to help him in any case. On the eighth Clinton at Fort Montgomery had written a note to Burgoyne to cheer him up. "Nous y voici," Clinton wrote, "and nothing between us and Gates; I sincerely hope this little success of ours may facilitate your operations. . . I heartily wish you success." But Burgoyne did not receive the note, for the messenger, Daniel Taylor of Kinderhook, was captured at New Windsor and the message intercepted, along with letters from Benjamin Ingraham, Josiah Woodward, and others to their families in New Concord.⁶² Only two days after the razing of Esopus, General Burgoyne and his army were preparing to camp for the night on their way, as they supposed to prisoner of war quarters in Massachusetts.⁶³ And a few days before, Benjamin Ingraham, senior,

⁶¹Sabine, ed., Historical Memoirs of William Smith, 1763-1778, 2: 245.

⁶²Hugh Hastings, ed., The Public Papers of George Clinton, 10 volumes (New York: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, Crawford, Co., 1899-1914), 2: 398-444; Ward, The War of the Revolution,

⁶³Henry Cruger Van Schaack, Memoirs of the Life of Henry Van Schaack (Chicago: A. C. McClung & Co., 1892), p. 75.

"having Voluntarily taken the Oath of Allegiance to this State," was released from captivity in the Esopus Fleet Prison.⁶⁴ It was fortunate for him and his friends, Asa Beebe and Moses Wooster, for a few days later, if Judge Jones had his facts straight, the Patriots ran these prison ships into shoal water and set them on fire. "There were at this time about 150 Loyalists on board," wrote Jones, "and confined below decks in irons. The rebel crews got on shore, but they never released the poor prisoners, who all perished in the flames."⁶⁵

Benjamin Ingraham and his colleagues arrived back in Kingsbridge, undoubtedly unaware of the full significance of the events in which they had participated. In appreciation of their creditable performance, the colonel presented each man in his regiment with a "Donation Shirt."⁶⁶ Winter was fast approaching, and much remained to be done in preparation for it. "No Barracks thought of," wrote one observer, "or anything else, for the defense of King's Bridge, Redoubts, &c; the Season advances fast."⁶⁷ Early in November Fanning's troops were issued with "Woollen Night Caps & Gloves" for

⁶⁴ Minutes of the Committee and of the First Commission for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York (New York Historical Society Collections, 1924), p. 391.

⁶⁵ Jones, History of New York during the Revolution, p. 220.

⁶⁶ Captain McAlpine's Journal, p. 135.

⁶⁷ Kemble Papers, 1: 142.

their comfort by night and for their diversion by day set to work "building Huttts for NCO's & Men, till the whole are Completed allowing 12 Men to each Hut & 4 Huts to every Company."⁶⁸ According to Henry Nase, it required about three weeks to complete the barracks, after which "both the Officers & the Men had got Huttted Comfortably in Severe weather."⁶⁹ And on 15 November Benjamin wrote in his diary: ". . . went into Cantonments into the Town & Lived Exceeding Comfortable. Wood being Scarce the docks was ordered to be cut up for the Troops to burn."⁷⁰

The winter, however, was not quite as comfortable as had been anticipated, for in February the Cork fleet had not yet arrived with the provisions. "The troops," Benjamin wrote, "were put on short allowance of Bread, 4 lb. per week & one lb. Rice. This was for 2 weeks & 2 weeks they drawed nothing but oatmeal Bread."⁷¹ What Benjamin Ingraham and the other troops could not know was that the failure of the provision fleet to arrive on time was a fairly routine occurrence. On this subject, General Clinton wrote:

. . . I am fully persuaded that the failures in our supplies proceeded from a concurrence of untoward incidents, which could not be foreseen or guarded against at such a distance from the seat of government. Nor do I presume to entertain the least doubt

⁶⁸ Captain McAlpine's Journal, 2 November 1777.

⁶⁹ Henry Nase's Diary, p. 4.

⁷⁰ Benjamin's Ingraham's Diary, p. 16.

⁷¹ Ibid.

but the Lords of His Majesty's Treasury paid every possible attention to the wants of the army in America. I only state facts as they really happened, which, it must be confessed, were very alarming at the time, and make me tremble even now when I think of the very fatal consequences they might have produced.⁷²

Food was scarce at Kingsbridge in the early winter of 1778, but otherwise the troops were comfortable. In no way could their condition compare with that of Washington's men at Valley Forge, where by the first of February 4,000 were unfit for duty because they were "barefoot & otherwise naked." Cold, dirty, and vermin-infested, they fought death by starvation; on three occasions the camp ran completely out of provisions. Some five hundred horses starved to death, and men died at the rate of four hundred a month.⁷³

The food situation righted itself at Kingsbridge later in the month of February. On the twentieth Benjamin wrote: "The Refugees Brought in a sloop Loaded with Corn which was Ground Immediately & Delivered to the troops. By this time the fleet arrived at N. York & we drew our Compliment of Bread as usual, 8 lb. per week. At this time the troops drew codfish & ayl 2 days every week."⁷⁴

The winter passed uneventfully, but life was bright again for Benjamin Ingraham in April when he sailed with a

⁷²Clinton, The American Rebellion, pp. 111-112.

⁷³See Howard H. Peckham, The War for Independence (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958), pp. 82-83.

⁷⁴Benjamin Ingraham's Diary, p. 16.

detachment for Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. Here they "tuck a large quantity of small vessels and considerable stores of all sorts and Brought them to Rhoad Island whair they were sold by auction. The stores & vessels were so considerable that there were about 8⁰ Ginpias a man prise money."⁷⁵ Privateering was an activity widely engaged in by both sides during the Revolutionary War. It seems to have been considered morally acceptable, yet plundering by private soldiers without the sanction of the officers was a serious crime. In any case the eight guineas must have been a welcome supplement to the soldiers' meagre pocket money and an invaluable aid to the enjoyment of the fleshpots of Newport in off-duty hours.

The King's American Regiment moved to Long Island in the spring of 1778, preparatory to embarking with a fleet bound for Rhode Island. The fleet arrived at Newport on 15 July. There were eighteen sail in the convoy, consisting of five provision ships, always a comforting sight, along with the transport ships on that sunny summer's-day with its brisk southwest wind. The King's American was accompanied by the Thirty-eighth Regiment, two battalions of the Anspach Regiment, and fifty men from the Royal Artillery.⁷⁶

On the sixteenth, another warm and breezy day, Benjamin Ingraham disembarked with the rest of the troops. His

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Diary of Frederick Mackenzie, 2 volumes (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1930), 1: 309-310.

regiment came ashore on the Long Wharf and marched to Bannister's Redoubt, behind which they encamped on a very pleasant spot.⁷⁷ Newport was the fifth city in size and importance in the Thirteen Colonies, having in 1775 a population of 11,000. A Scottish visitor in 1771 had remarked that the city far surpassed the idea he had had of it. "The principal street," he said, "one and a half miles long and the houses very compact . . . the whole town making a very agreeable prospect from the water, being situated on an easy rising hill." The smallish, wooden houses set in ample gardens had originally been built on two long streets, parallel to the water, but as the city grew in the 1770s it developed a more regular, rectangular pattern. Distinctive in character, its beauty attracted the comments of travelers.⁷⁸

Newport had been occupied by the British since December 1776 with little opposition from the enemy. Now it appeared as if events were about to take a different tack, for the French naval commander, Admiral D'Estaing, anchored off Sandy Hook and despairing of success in New York, was growing restless. It was known by the British that he was contemplating an attack on Newport with the support of a military detachment of Continentals under General Sullivan. The King's American Regiment was part of a reinforcement sent in July 1778 to aid the British commanding officer, General

⁷⁷ Ibid., 1: 310; Henry Nase's Diary, p. 5.

⁷⁸ Bridenbaugh, Cities in Revolt, pp. 232, 17.

Sir Robert Pigot, in meeting and repulsing the attack.

General Sullivan landed on the island with 10,000 men on 8 August, and on the same day Admiral D'Estaing's fleet sailed into the harbour. "The cannonading was incessant," wrote Nase, "during the whole time the Fleet was passing the works, but not a man hurt, nor even a gun dismounted or silenced."⁷⁹ On the ninth Lord Howe with the British fleet appeared in sight, and on the tenth the French ships left Newport and put out to sea. The men in Fanning's Regiment must have breathed a sigh of relief; for during this time "no man took off his clothes or accoutrements not Duty arms night or day till Monsieur, not thinking the situation secure, embarked."⁸⁰ A violent storm prevented the engagement of the two fleets and made it impossible for Sullivan's men to transport their stores from the water or to prepare an attack on the British. It was not until the fifteenth that the Americans were able to move down the island towards the British; General Pigot drew his force closer to Newport and went to work building a new breastwork and an abatis.⁸¹

Both armies continued with their offensive and defensive preparations until D'Estaing's fleet, somewhat disarrayed,

⁷⁹ Henry Nase's Diary, p. 6.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Jones, History of New York during the American Revolution, p. 256; Edwin Stone, Our French Allies, 1778-1881 (Providence, R.I.: Providence Press Company), p. 113, Pigot to Clinton, 31 August 1778; Ward, The War of the Revolution, 2: 590.

arrived again and anchored off the port. No amount of persuasion from both Sullivan and Lafayette (who was with D'Estaing) could convince the Admiral to join with the Americans in a battle against the British. The French fleet disappeared from the harbour on the twenty-second, along with the 4,000 troops who were on board.⁸²

Sullivan and his men now had no hope of any help; they had to depend solely upon themselves. The British and the Provincials did what they could to harass them. "Some of Fanning's corps," General Pigot wrote, "at different times exerted themselves in taking off people from the enemy's advanced posts."⁸³ On the twenty-third a detachment of the King's American Regiment set out "to beat up a Picquet of the Enemy posted near Potter's Chimnies." Fanning marched out "at half past One this Morning," Frederick Mackenzie wrote in his diary, "with 1500 men; he advanced very near the Post without being discovered, then rushed in upon them, killed one man, and took two Prisoners; the remainder of the Picquet, having given their fire, ran off with the utmost precipitation. Col. Fanning returned before daybreak without any loss."⁸⁴

"Running off" became the order of the day among the

⁸² Stone, Our French Allies, p. 113; Ward, The War of the Revolution, 2: 591.

⁸³ Stone, Our French Allies, p. 113.

⁸⁴ Diary of Frederick Mackenzie, 2: 368.

enemy, discouraged by the defection of their allies. More than 5,000 Continentals deserted within the next few days. Sullivan's force was so weakened that it was useless even to think of attacking the British; instead, the general became preoccupied with retreat.⁸⁵ By dawn on the twenty-ninth the Americans had slipped away. Pigot followed in pursuit, his troops in two detachments, one to engage each flank. Benjamin Ingraham, with the King's American Regiment, took the west road along with the Hessian jägers and two Anspach battalions under General von Lossberg. Overtaken, the Americans made a stand. "Near the meeting house," Nase wrote, "the whole line halted and soon after our Regt was called upon to cover the guns on the left flank where we had a smart skirmish, in which we had four men killed, and several officers and men wounded."⁸⁶ The fighting, not too decisive, continued till dark, after which the pursuers "lay on their arms" till daybreak. During the night the enemy furtively retreated across Howland's ferry to Tiverton, and from thence to Providence, where they spent the winter.⁸⁷

It was lucky for the Americans that they had made their escape, for at seven o'clock in the morning of 1 September a fleet of seventy sail rounded Point Judith, steering directly for the harbour. "At ten," Frederick Mackenzie

⁸⁵Ward, The War of the Revolution, 2: 591.

⁸⁶Henry Nase's Diary, p. 6.

⁸⁷Ward, The War of the Revolution, 2: 592; Stone, Our French Allies, p. 114.

wrote, "Sir Henry Clinton came ashore and about two the whole fleet came to anchor in the harbour under Conanicut shore."⁸⁸
The fleet carried 5,000 troops!⁸⁹

Benjamin Ingraham commented on the activities of General Gray, who accompanied Clinton:

Gen¹ Clinton landed at N Port while his army lay in the harbor & 3rd Returned himself for N York while Gen¹ Gray & troops Destroyed Bead fourt & several other places & Brought off near a thousand head of Cattel & 12 thousand Sheep for the use of the army on Road Island. At this time the Privateers Brought in Many Valuable Prises & the Refugees brought No of Cattel & Sheep.⁹⁰

Life became quiet again at Newport. The regiment had moved to Quaker Hill on 2 August. At the end of September they moved again, this time to Binnader's Hill and began to repair the works; they also started the construction of Fort Fanning, which they completed before the end of November. This fort and Tonomy Hill, according to Benjamin, were the "Prinsopel Defence of the town and they were maid impregnable."⁹¹ The three officers who were wounded in the summer's engagements, Lieutenant Campbell and Ensigns Purdy and Huestis, were recovering. Luck had not been with Volunteer Eustace, however: he had been killed outright on the field.⁹²

⁸⁸ Diary of Frederick Mackenzie, 2: 388.

⁸⁹ Ward, The War of the Revolution, 2: 593.

⁹⁰ Benjamin Ingraham's Diary, p. 22; Clinton, The American Rebellion, pp. 103-104.

⁹¹ Benjamin Ingraham's Diary, p. 22.

⁹² Stone, Our French Allies, p. 115.

The health of the regiment was good all fall but was even better with an improvement in quarters. "The 25th November," Henry Nase wrote, "we march^d into N Port & was quartered in the best of houses. The Regiment was remarkably healthy during our stay in Newport which was till the 27th of May

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The quiet comfort of a Newport winter did not prevent a storm from erupting among the men in the King's American Regiment. On 12 December 1778, the second anniversary of the formation of the regiment, Benjamin recounted the incident with considerable indignation.

I must mention something Concerning the behaviour of the Reg^t on account of their Discharge.

Dec. 12 being the day that the terms of our enlistment being fulfilled, the Reg^t Immediately Demanded their Discharge agreeable to Promise which Being Denied the men Laid down their arms. Col. Fanning, willing to reconcile the men, Promised them all the assistance in his power to obtain their Discharge and Gave his word of Honour he would sign any Petition we should Draw to send to the Commander-in-Chief which should be thought proper for that purpose as it was not in his power to do it without permission, and Beged that the Reg^t would do duty till an answer should be obtained from the C^o in Chief.

On those conditions & the Honour of the Colⁿ tuck our arms & returned to duty.

The Petition Being Brought to the Honord Colⁿ he Punchuly denied he Ever Promised any such thing & threatened the whole Reg^t of sending them to the Provost in Rhoad Island if they should attempt to ask it again and said that every man that wished for his Discharge was a Mutinas Raskal & a Damned Rebel. Such Proseadings & such Honour as this Caused near one hundred of the men to Desert the first opertunity & it put a final end to the Reg^t Recruiting any more from the County.

⁹³ Henry Nase's Diary, p. 8.

From this Day the Colⁿ was taken sick & Never able to march with the Reg^t again.⁹⁴

After this incident the Regiment settled down again, most of them no doubt, like Benjamin Ingraham, somewhat disillusioned, with their colonel. Benjamin may have been right that Fanning never marched again with the Regiment; in any instance where the commander is mentioned, it is always Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, or in his absence, Major Grant, or in the absence of both of them, Captain Attwood. Except for the occasional desertion of a disgruntled soldier, life went on quietly through the winter and into the spring. Perhaps the men spent some of their time getting outfitted in their new uniforms, for during the summer of 1778 it was decided to exchange the green coats of the Provincials for red. The King's American Regiment now wore red coats with dark blue facings, and the officers wore gold metal.⁹⁵ In the spring, on 27 May to be exact, the Regiment withdrew from their private home quarters in Newport and set up camp on Conanicut Island, where the fish were "so plenty alongshore that a man might catch fifty in a day with his naked ramrod."⁹⁶

The Conanicut fishing trips soon came to an end; in the summer of 1779 the King's American Regiment was included in a detachment sent to make raids on three coastal towns in

⁹⁴ Benjamin Ingraham's Diary, pp. 17-18.

⁹⁵ Katcher, The American Provincial Corps, 1775-1784, p. 37.

⁹⁶ Henry Nase's Diary, p. 8.

Connecticut;--New Haven, Fairfield, and Norwalk. In July Clinton drew from Rhode Island what troops he felt could be spared and instructed General Tryon with 2,600 men to make descents on New Haven, Fairfield, Milford, Stratford, and other points on the Connecticut shore. Tryon had orders to destroy privateers and public stores and to "do the enemy every other injury he could consistent with humanity."⁹⁷

Tryon and Sir George Collier, who commanded the fleet assigned to the expedition, began by issuing an address to those inhabitants of the province who had been deluded into "wanton Insurrection . . . by the artifices of desperate and designing men." The proclamation hoped that they "would recover from the phrenzy which has distracted this unhappy country" and warned them that the time had come for them to return to allegiance. "Those whose folly and obstinacy may slight this favourable warning must take notice that they are not to expect continuance of that lenity, which their inveteracy would render blameless."⁹⁸

The King's American Regiment had embarked from Rhode Island on 16 June but were detained by contrary winds until the twenty-fifth. They anchored off New Haven the following day and in Huntingdon Harbour on the twenty-seventh.⁹⁹ The fleet set sail from White Stone on Long Island on 3 July but

⁹⁷Clinton, The American Rebellion, p. 130.

⁹⁸Rivington's Royal Gazette, 7 July 1779:

⁹⁹Henry Nase's Diary, p. 8.

because of unfavourable winds did not reach New Haven until the morning of the fifth. They took this town with little difficulty and destroyed the public stores and some vessels and ordnance; they took away with them six field pieces and a privateer. Receiving very little molestation, they spared the rest of the town, and re-embarked.¹⁰⁰ However, they had at least one casualty. "Unfortunately," wrote Henry Nase, "Ensign & Adjutant Watkins received a ball in his left breast of which he died soon after, much lamented by the whole regiment."¹⁰¹

On the morning of the eighth the fleet anchored off the village of Fairfield. The King's American Regiment landed with the first division, under Tryon, the second division being commanded by General Garth. Their march from their landing place at the Black Rock Battery was hampered by a constant though ineffectual cannonade. In the village they were subjected to a steady fire of musketry from the windows of the houses as they marched through the streets. After lying under arms that night they were joined by General Garth and the second division in the morning. They burned the village "to resent the fire of the rebels from the houses" and re-embarked.¹⁰²

¹⁰⁰Rivington's Royal Gazette, 31 July 1779.

¹⁰¹Henry Nase's Diary, p. 9.

¹⁰²Rivington's Royal Gazette, 31 July 1779; Clinton, The American Rebellion, pp. 130-131, 441-412; Sabine, ed., Historical Memoirs of William Smith, 2: 131.

Needing some additional supplies, they crossed the sound to Huntington and returned, this time their destination Norwalk on 11 July. Anchoring five miles to the east of the village, they began to land at sunset. The King's American Regiment, this time the last to disembark, was on shore at three in the morning, and the march commenced at dawn. The enemy showing great spirit and harassing them with cannon shot, Tryon halted before long to wait until the second division, which had landed at Old Wells on the west side of the village, could make a junction with him. This was accomplished at nine o'clock and the assault began in earnest. The enemy were soon driven back from the northern heights. "After many salt pans," wrote Tryon, "were destroyed, whole boats carried on board the fleet, and the magazines, stores, and vessels set in flames with the greatest part of the dwelling houses, . . . the troops retired in two columns to the place of our first debarkation, and, unassaulted, took ship and returned to Huntington Bay."¹⁰³

The inhabitants of Connecticut, now convinced that the Tories were serious in their statement about the "continuance of lenity," began to flock to the Continental colours. Both sides were shocked by the cruelty and viciousness of the attacks. Clinton put a stop to the expedition by ordering it back to White Stone immediately after Norwalk. He gave two reasons for his action: first, his belief that the loss in

¹⁰³ Ibid.

men was likely to be too great to compensate for the impression the raids would make on the enemy, and, second his concern over the destruction of private property. "I have been a buccaneer too long," he is reported to have said. "I detest that sort of war."¹⁰⁴ Lord George Germain, in his letter to Clinton praising Tryon's success in Connecticut, remarked: "But I cannot help lamenting with you that the behaviour of the rebels in firing from their houses upon the troops rendered it necessary to make use of the severities that are painful for British soldiers to inflict."¹⁰⁵ The New-York Journal and the New-London Gazette both gave vivid descriptions of the atrocities committed by these "banditti," these "abandoned, bloody miscreants" who "vented their fury upon" the persons and effects of all who unfortunately fell under their power."¹⁰⁶

Loyalists, however, did not generally share the views of either the British or the Patriots. William Smith regarded as folly the recall of the troops just at the moment when the Connecticut farmers were beginning their harvest and wondered what Clinton had expected anyway.¹⁰⁷ Tryon, himself an

¹⁰⁴ William B. Willcox, Portrait of a General: Sir Henry Clinton in the War of Independence (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 142.

¹⁰⁵ Wertebaker, Father Knickerbocker Rebels, p. 182.

¹⁰⁶ New-York Journal, 19 July 1779; New-London Gazette, 4 August 1779, both quoted in Moore, Diary of the American Revolution, pp. 374-383.

¹⁰⁷ William Smith, William Smith's Historical Memoirs, 1778-1783 (New York: New York Times, 1971), p. 131.

American and a Loyalist, believed that ~~the~~ power of the enemy was supported by the dread felt by the general populace of the tyranny of the rebels and their confidence in the forbearance of the King's supporters.¹⁰⁸ This, he believed, would lose them the war. The Loyalist soldiers, it was generally agreed, acted with greater zeal and energy in these raids than did their British counterparts. This is, of course, understandable; not only did the Provincials have everything, while the British soldiers had little, to lose but in addition they were fired with bitterness and the desire for revenge. It was they, not the British, who had been tarred and feathered, ridden on rails, vilified, humiliated, imprisoned, hanged; it was they whose homes had been burned or confiscated and given to rebels. Now that they had an opportunity to retaliate in kind, they were disposed to make the most of it. To the Provincials the war was not a mere contest between uniformed teams--it was a bloody civil war in which their very existence was at stake. And as far as the Loyalists could see, the British were botching it.¹⁰⁹

How much time Benjamin Ingraham and his colleagues devoted to reflecting on the ethics of their conduct in Connecticut we shall never know. War is seldom conducive to feelings of sympathy for the enemy. Henry Nase wrote of

¹⁰⁸ Tryon to Clinton, 20 July 1779, in Clinton, The American Rebellion, p. 414.

¹⁰⁹ Ward, The War of the Revolution, 2: 596-597.

Norwalk: "Marched through where we had the satisfaction to see several of the scoundrels bayonnetted."¹¹⁰ In any case the attention of the men of the King's American Regiment was soon turned from Rhode Island and Connecticut northward to Stony Point, which Clinton had taken along with Verplanck's Point on 1 June. Stony Point, one hundred and fifty feet high and jutting more than half a mile out into the Hudson and surrounded on three of its steep banks by water, became an island at high tide. On this strategic point Clinton had built two sets of works and left them in the charge of a garrison of six hundred men. Verplanck's Point, on the opposite bank of the river and surrounded by a double ditch and abatis, was of great military importance, too. On 15 July "Mad Anthony" Wayne and 1,350 Continentals had made a daring and swift raid on Stony Point and had captured it within half an hour. Clinton, hearing of the disaster the day after while Wayne's guns were playing on Verplanck's Point, had set out with an expedition immediately. Wayne decided against attacking Verplanck's Point and destroyed the works and abandoned Stony Point, Washington having viewed it and concluded he could not afford the men required to maintain it.¹¹¹

Thus the British regained Stony Point and again were in control of the lower fifty miles of the Hudson. Clinton

¹¹⁰Henry Nase's Diary, p. 9.

¹¹¹Ward, The War of the Revolution, 2: 596-597; Clinton, The American Rebellion, p. 132.

detached the King's American and four British regiments to repair the works destroyed by Wayne and his men. Benjamin Ingraham and his colleagues laboured at this task from 20 July until 19 October.¹¹² Meanwhile Clinton had decided to lead a large expedition to the South for the capture of Charleston and required a sufficient number of men to garrison New York. Consequently, he abandoned the forts on the Hudson in October, and the King's American Regiment was transferred to Lloyd's Neck on Long Island Sound. Colonel Fanning spent part of the fall on an expedition with George Leonard, one of the directors of the Associated Loyalists of New York, to Nantucket, and in November was sick in New York.¹¹³ Major Grant was at the time in charge of the Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell being absent on leave. Captain DePeyster was also on leave, presumably with Colonel Patrick Ferguson's corps, which in less than a year would be involved in disaster at King's Mountain. Benjamin Ingraham had been promoted to corporal, working with Corporals Matthew Countryman and Benjamin Post. The sergeants in the company were Hezekiah Wyatt, Peter Boyce, and Christopher Ortman. Captain Gray was assisted by John Sargent, by this time promoted to lieutenant,

¹¹² Henry Nase's Diary, pp. 10-11; Archibald Robertson, Archibald Robertson, Lieutenant-General, Royal Engineers: His Diaries and Sketches in America, 1762-1780 (New York: New York Public Library, 1971), 18, 19, and 20 August 1779.

¹¹³ Winslow Papers, MG23, D2, PAC.

and Ensign Leonard Reed.¹¹⁴

Not much was happening on the other fronts. The Spanish had entered the war during the previous spring but their presence was not appreciably felt until they captured Mobile in March 1780. The Franco-American attack in Savannah had been repulsed in October and that city remained in British hands. Plans were being finalized for an attack on Charleston, South Carolina.

The weather turned cold. The bay and river filled with floating ice cakes, reaching from side to side in the narrows. Clinton tarried as long as the weather would allow and put out to sea for Charleston, South Carolina on 26 December with just under 6,000 troops. "The Expedition Fleet must have had a fine Offing," William Smith wrote in his diary the next day. "The Wind still easy at NW, and the Sky clear."¹¹⁵ But a fine start does not always lead to a fine ending, and so it was with both the voyage to South Carolina and the winter in New York. The winds were so strong and the seas so rough that the ships were scattered far and wide, most taking more than a month to reach Charleston and one being blown as far off course as the Cornwall coast of

¹¹⁴ Inspection Roll of Capt. Gray's Company in the King's American Regiment, Commanded by Col. Edmund Fanning, Lloyd's Neck, 15 November 1779, Vol. 1902, Series C, RG8, PAC.

¹¹⁵ William Smith's Historical Memoirs, 1778-1783, p. 201, 27 December 1779.

England.¹¹⁶ The winter of 1779-1780 was the coldest ever known in the Middle Colonies.¹¹⁷ Water communication with the city was cut off by the middle of January and provisions were transported over the ice in sleighs. Detachments of cavalry actually marched from the city to Staten Island. The military posts were now laid open to attack by Washington's forces, but the failure of one such raid early in the season put an end to them. On the contrary, the King's forces kept the Continentals in a state of alarm. Benjamin and his colleagues battled with the cold all winter and probably with boredom all spring, for it was not until well into the summer that there was any excitement on Long Island.

During the latter part of July it was rumoured that there was to be an attack on the French fleet which lay at anchor in the harbour at Newport; the King's American Regiment received its orders to be ready to march. On 16 August the Regiment set out from Lloyd's Neck and joined General Clinton with the 17th Dragoons, the Light Infantry, and some of the Queen's Rangers. The day was hot and the march led eastward over a sandy road sheltered from the cooling sea breezes by a dense growth of pines. At Moriches Clinton dispatched a party of light dragoons on ahead, and the remainder of the expedition camped overnight, continuing on in the heat

¹¹⁶ Willcox, Portrait of a General, p. 243.

¹¹⁷ Jones, History of New York during the American Revolution, p. 320; Henry Nase's Diary, p. 10.

of the following day. They arrived at East Hampton only to be ordered to face about and begin the long march back. Benjamin and his friends must have fumed at this apparent folly. Certainly Clinton was far from happy over the incident, which turned out to be the climax of a series of frustrating dealings he had been having with Admiral Arbuthnot.

When the general had returned from Charleston in June, he had been convinced that sound strategy demanded an attack on the French fleet at Newport. He immediately contacted Admiral Arbuthnot to secure his cooperation. His communications with the irascible old naval commander would make good material for a comic opera had the results not been so tragic. Again and again was Clinton frustrated with the vacillations of Arbuthnot. Finally, after having been invited to meet the admiral off East Hampton, he set out posthaste, sent a letter ahead with the dragoons, and finally reached the Long Island port only to find that Arbuthnot had put out to sea immediately upon receipt of the letter. ". . . after thus posting one hundred and twenty miles in the most inclement and sickly season through the excessive heats of that climate," Clinton wrote, "I had at last the mortification to find that I had taken the long journey for nothing." The two were at loggerheads for nearly a year until the cabinet finally recalled the admiral in response to the general's demands.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁹William Smith's *Historical Memoirs, 1778-1783*, p. 324, 16 August 1780; Clinton, *The American Rebellion*, pp. 204-205; William B. Willcox, "The British Road to Yorktown," *American Historical Review* 52 (October 1947): 21.

Benjamin Ingraham made no comment on the Long Island wild goose chase, but William Smith was somewhat derisive.

"What a farce!" he wrote. "The General took the 17th Dragoons with him, the Light Infantry, some of the Queen's Rangers, and Fanning's Regiment quite down to the Court House."¹²⁰

Benjamin had hardly got settled again at Lloyd's Neck before the colonel had orders for his regiment to embark at Hell Gate for, it was rumoured, Chesapeake Bay.¹²¹ Fanning, in the interim before sailing, occupied himself with dreams of recruiting a second corps for his regiment and correspondence with Edward Winslow in order to persuade him to command it.¹²² On 16 October, according to William Smith, ". . . the Fleet with General Lesley [Leslie] and the troops put to sea on the Southern Expedition with a fresh Breeze at NW, which is cold."¹²³ Henry Nase, now a sergeant-major, enjoyed the trip.. "We set sail Monday," he wrote, "wind NW and after a pleasant voyage of forty-eight hours anchored in Chesapeake Bay."¹²⁴ The army landed in Portsmouth on 20 October 1780 with orders generally to "increase and accelerate the

¹²⁰ William Smith's Historical Memoirs, 1778-1783, p. 326, 21 August 1780.

¹²¹ Ibid., op. 329, 8 September 1780.

¹²² William Odber Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers (Saint John: The Sun Printing Company, 1901), p. 63.

¹²³ William Smith's Historical Memoirs, 1778-1783, p. 341, 16 October 1780.

¹²⁴ Henry Nase's Diary, p. 21.

confusion" among the Rebels and specifically to move into Petersburg and Richmond to interrupt the supplies intended for the Continental army in the South. Almost immediately they set to work to establish a base out of which to operate. One thousand infantry and one hundred cavalry landed at Hampton on the twenty-third and took possession of Newport News. After raids on Smithfield and Suffolk they returned to their ships at Portsmouth, re-embarked, and dropped down to Hampton Road on 17 November. From there they sailed to Cape Fear, where they landed and remained a few days. On 22 November they proceeded to sea again "with a fair wind" bound for Charleston.¹²⁵

The voyage, which took more than three weeks, was one that the men of the King's American Regiment were not likely to forget. A day after they set sail the sky clouded over and a strong wind came up. By the twenty-fifth several of the ships had "run afoul"; on the twenty-eighth the "Eliza" was in distress, and its coffers lost overboard. By 4 December the storm had reached its full intensity. "The Tide Runs," wrote Henry Nase, "to that Degree that Nothing but what was lashed could remain on Deck, one horse belonging to Col^O Fanning and another to QM Thomas were lost over the ship's side.

¹²⁵Clinton, *The American Rebellion*, pp. 213-229; Piers Mackesy, *The War for America, 1775-1783* (London: Longmans, 1964), p. 342; Peckham, *The War for Independence*, pp. 148-150; Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, 8 November 1780; *Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1 November 1780, 22 November 1780, 29 November 1780; Henry Nase's *Diary*, pp. 23-24.

The storm continued till some time the 5th, and then Clear^d up, and thanks be to God, we had once more the happiness of seeing a calm and peaceable ocean." On 13 December they "espied Land to the Great Joy of all," and on the fourteenth "arrived safe at the Wharf in Charles Town after some Fatigue & Danger on the Bar."¹²⁶

This move of the British seems to have surprised the Patriot leaders. General Greene wrote to Washington that there must be some foreign cause to explain the sudden withdrawal which time would likely divulge.¹²⁷ If the American generals were confused, so must have been the Provincial rank and file serving under General Leslie. Perhaps even Leslie himself may have had some difficulty in keeping up with the changes of orders.

Clinton had sent Leslie on a special mission to Virginia when he had received intelligence of Lord Cornwallis' signal victory at Camden. It looked as if the war were almost won in the South; a force operating from the Chesapeake to meet that of Cornwallis as it moved north was all that was needed to clinch the final victory. But then, on hearing the news of Major Patrick Ferguson's misfortune at King's Mountain, Clinton dispatched the Chesapeake expedition to Cape Fear. Cornwallis, without Clinton's knowledge, ordered them

¹²⁶ Henry Nase's Diary, pp. 23-25.

¹²⁷ George Washington Greene, Life of Nathanael Greene, 3 volumes (New York: G. P. Putnam & Son, 1867-1871), 3: 55.

to Charleston so they could join his force at Winnsboro.¹²⁸

As a result of all this Benjamin Ingraham found himself in Charleston, South Carolina in December 1780, although for a very brief period indeed. The troops left almost immediately after disembarking, the majority to march to Camden and on to reinforce Cornwallis at Winnsboro, the King's American Regiment to garrison Georgetown, about fifty miles up the coast from Charleston. Benjamin was not unimpressed with the town. "This Town," he wrote in his diary, &

Contains two small streets besides sundry Choyce Buildings some Distance off. With a fine Church with a Bell and a strong Gold [jail]. The Troops built a Red^t Round the Gayl which mounted 5 peses of Cannon and could fire through it any way while the Galleys Layd in the River to Defend it by water.¹²⁹

He was impressed by the crops--rice, indigo, Indian corn, sweet potatoes--many of which were new to him; he remarked, too, about the almost total use of blacks to do the work of cultivating. Although the province of New York had more slaves than any other northern province, he was always intrigued with the large number of negroes he saw as he traveled about the South. The inhabitants of Georgetown made a poor impression on him. "Chiefly Rebles," he wrote, "and gave all Inteligence Posable and Suplyed the Rebels with every Necessary they Could."¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Clinton, The American Rebellion, pp. 228-229.

¹²⁹ Benjamin Ingraham's Diary, p. 3.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

Life was far from dull in the South. Everything was strange and exotic and different--the people, the topography, the flora, the fauna, the climate. Along the coast the low, undulating hills of yellow sand supported stands of scraggly pine trees and farther south of squat, ugly palmettos. Along the tidal rivers and creeks, swamps and flat stretches of black earth emitted vapours pervaded with the stink of rotting vegetation. Rainfall was abundant, and, in a countryside almost devoid of bridges, the fords across the swollen streams were often impassable. Gnats and flies and mosquitoes swarmed in clouds, and rattlesnakes and water moccasins were a constant menace. And it was hot! Farther back from the coast in the mountains there were more trees, the climate was cooler but still rainy and humid, the temperature in winter ranging from hot at midday to below freezing at night. Truly, the South was a strange new environment for the northerners of the King's American Regiment to fight in.

The partisans in this civil war in the South, too, were of a different breed, brutal and vicious and bitter. Nathanael Greene was shocked by their savagery. "There is not a day passes," he wrote in a letter to Thomas Jefferson, "but there are more or less who fall a sacrifice to this savage disposition. . . The Whigs seem determined to extirpate the Tories, the Tories the Whigs. If a stop cannot be put to these massacres, the whole country will be depopulated. . ."¹³¹

¹³¹ Greene, Life of Nathanael Greene, 3: 227.

Life was not dull for the men of the King's American Regiment in the winter of 1781 in Georgetown. Benjamin Ingraham was now a sergeant, along with Hezekiah Wyatt, on command somewhere with a detachment, and Peter Boyce, who was in hospital in Charleston. Leonard Reed was now the lieutenant in Captain Gray's company, and Elisha Budd the ensign. Benjamin Post, Benjamin's former corporal colleague, had been dead since April 1780. Jacobus Rose and Jacob Mydock (or Midagh), two of the private soldiers reported as prisoners of war, had actually been hanged by the enemy at Fort Montgomery, New York, for recruiting, although the news had not got back to the Regiment yet. All companies were on duty in Georgetown with the exception of Captain Thomas Cornwell's Light Infantry, who were in the High Hills of Santee.¹³² There was an air of expectancy about the camp. The catastrophe of King's Mountain was told and retold; after all, their own Captain DePeyster had been Major Ferguson's second in command, and others from their regiment had served in his crack company, the American Volunteers. Now Tarleton and his Dragoons had suffered a disastrous setback at Cowpens. And with Sumter and Marion skulking about in the Hills, who knew what might happen?

One night late in January they found out. Just before

¹³² Muster Roll of King's American Regiment, 2 February 1781, Georgetown, S.C., Vol. 102, Series C, RG8, PAC. For the story of the "spies," Jacobus Rose and Jacob Midagh, see John Bakeless, Turncoats, Traitors, and Heroes (Philadelphia: Lippincott Company, 1959), pp. 127-128.

daylight they were awakened by a few popping shots; suddenly all was confusion. A detachment from the enemy had advanced, some by land and some by boat, hiding in the swamps by day, traveling by night, until they reached a rice-field in the outskirts. The garrison, taken completely by surprise, nevertheless soon had themselves in order. The Rebels were forced to retire but not before they had captured Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, who was in command, Colonel Fanning being in Charleston. They "took him out of bed, and carried him off, without any other clothes than his shirt to about a quarter of a mile in the back of town, through bushes and briers." Finally they yielded to his entreaties and allowed him to go on parole. The garrison being by this time completely embodied, the raiders thought it wise to retreat.¹³³

Surprise attacks on the enemy, however, were not the prerogative of the Rebels; Benjamin Ingraham and his colleagues participated in raids, too, whenever the opportunity arose. In January, for instance, Ensign Budd led a party on a "Cruise" in a sloop and killed and wounded twenty of the enemy. And on 14 February Sergeant-major Nase reported: "A Detachment of about 100 Foot & 40 Horse . . . March^d to Black River, where Capt. DePeyster, Ens^{gn} Budd & 24 men were taken prisoner. The Rest returned with Twenty head of Cattle & 5 officers & 2

¹³³ William Moultrie, Memories of the American Revolution, 2 volumes (New York: David Longworth, 1802; reprinted, New York: New York Times, Eyewitness Accounts Series, 1968), pp. 230-231.

privates of the Rebels Prisoners."¹³⁴

On 24 February the whole regiment was on the march again, inland to Scots Mount from whence they "went after Sumter and Marion, Noated Reble Commanders."¹³⁵ Lieutenant-Colonel Watson and his corps of light infantry caught up with Sumter, fondly known by his compatriots as the "Gamecock," a few days later, defeated him, and dispersed his troops.¹³⁶ Benjamin and the rest of his regiment carried on to the village of Camden, reaching their destination on 15 March. Captain Attwood was now in charge of the Regiment since Colonel Fanning had never left Charleston, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell was in that city on parole, and Major Grant had returned to New York, extremely ill.¹³⁷ Captain Attwood was directly responsible to Lord Rawdon, who was in command in this sector, Lord Cornwallis being by this time in North Carolina on his march to ultimate ruin at Yorktown.

Camden was a strategic point in the war in the South, one hundred and sixty miles north of Georgetown at the junction of Wateree Creek and the Wateree River. "This town lays flat," wrote Benjamin, "and has but few Buildings and Very Scatring, but has a very fine Gale.* The town was well

¹³⁴ Henry Nase's Diary, p. 27.

¹³⁵ Benjamin Ingraham's Diary, p. 4.

¹³⁶ Rivington's Royal Gazette, 21 March 1781.

¹³⁷ Mrs. Penuel Grant to Sir Guy Carleton, 15 September 1782, Item 5602, Vol. 3, British Headquarters Papers, MG23, B1, PAC.

protected, not only by the natural barriers of the river, the creek, and a swamp but also with guns and redoubts. A very important feature was the fortified corn mill which supplied the troops with flour. "This mill," Benjamin wrote, "was attempted to be stormed many times by the enemy who was always beat off without much Loss on our side."¹³⁸

The King's American was not the only regiment in Camden; they were supported by two British corps, the 63rd Regiment and the Volunteers of Ireland as well as one Provincial, the New York Volunteers. The excitement of the march from Georgetown, with its diversions such as the encounter with Sumter and "the Skirmish with Mr. Marion & his Gang of Robbers" was sustained in Camden. On 24 March the troops there celebrated the receipt of the news of Cornwallis' "Glorious Victory" at Guildford Court House with a "feu de joie fired by all the Artillery Troops in the Garrison." On the twenty-fifth Captain Attwood marched out on a successful foray and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell returned to command the Regiment. On 4 April two soldiers were hanged, one for desertion and the other for "murdering a friend to Government." On the twenty-first Captain Gray's Company and some of the New York Volunteers under Major Coffin "Charg'd the Rebel Reg^t, Killed four & took the same number prisoner without the least Damage." The next day "about 6 o'clock, evening, the Rebels attacked the Mill, where only an Off^r & Eighteen Men were posted with

¹³⁸ Benjamin Ingraham's Diary, p. 4.

some Militia"; they were soon driven off by a detachment of the Volunteers of Ireland. And in this fashion life went on from day to day in Camden.¹³⁹

Pleasant or unpleasant as Camden may have been, Benjamin was destined not to remain there long, for already General Greene was laying plans for its capture. British communications between Camden and Charleston had been rendered safe by a line of forts which they had established on the Santee and Congaree Rivers. On 23 April one of these, Fort Watson, surrendered to Colonel "Light Horse Harry" Lee; General Greene had already taken post on Hobkirk's Hill, about a mile from Camden. Lord Rawdon, the British commanding officer in the town, with at the time only about nine hundred men on hand, was surprised, but he decided to surprise the enemy in return. Determined to prevent the junction of Marion's force with Greene's detachment of about 1,200, he marched out of Camden at nine o'clock on the morning of 25 April 1781 with every man he could muster, a few more than eight hundred in all.

Benjamin Ingraham was in the front line of action, his regiment occupying the left flank, the 63rd Foot the right, and the New York Volunteers the centre. Three supporting detachments followed, and in the rear was a party of sixty dragoons. Taking a lesson from the enemy, Rawdon had sprinkled the flanks with Loyalist marksmen, no doubt armed

¹³⁹Henry Nase's Diary, pp. 29-33.

with the new breech-loading rifles invented by Major Patrick Ferguson, to pick off the Rebel officers.

It had apparently never occurred to the Americans that the British and Provincials might venture out of their stronghold. When the picket was engaged by the attackers, several of the officers were washing their feet and many of the soldiers their kettles in the rivulet flowing through the camp. However, the Americans speedily drew up into battle formation, managing to hide their three cannons behind their centre battalions. When these guns were unmasked and began to pour grape shot into Rawdon's lines, there was temporary confusion, and it looked as if the battle were lost. But the wily, twenty-six year-old Rawdon outwitted his enemy and soon put them to flight. "The fight was obstinate," wrote Henry Nase, "for some minutes, when the Rebels charg'd with such Spirit by our little army, that a total rout ensued which was followed by our Troops for near two miles, when excessive heat and fatigue obliged them to give up the Pursuit."¹⁴⁰ Rawdon had lost two hundred and seventy men, killed, wounded, and prisoner, but he had gained a respite.

¹⁴⁰ Henry Nase's Diary, pp. 32-33; Sir John Fortescue, A History of the British Army, 13 volumes (London: Macmillan Company, 1899-1930), 3: 385-387; Moultrie, Memories of the American Revolution, pp. 224-247; Clinton, The American Rebellion, pp. 513-515; Ward, The War of the Revolution, 2: 802-808; Henry Lee, The American Revolution in the South (New York: Arno Press, 1969; originally published as Memories of the War in the Southern Department of the United States (New York: University Publishing Company, 1869), pp. 333-339.

The respite was brief. Marion and Sumter and other partisan leaders were hacking away at the British lines of communication. Although Rawdon received a reinforcement of five hundred men, who managed to get through the guerrillas, it became evident to him that he could no longer maintain his position. Accordingly on 10 May he evacuated Camden. "Thus the army Continued Very helthy," Benjamin wrote optimistically, "untill the 10th May when all the army Destroyed the works Left the town burning, mill and all the barracks, Jayl & several other Buildings."¹⁴¹ "Light Horse Harry" Lee said that Rawdon "carried off four or five hundred negroes, and all the most obnoxious loyalists accompanied him."¹⁴²

Whoever accompanied them, they marched to Nelson's Ferry on the south side of the Santee River, sixty miles above Charleston. Within a matter of a week or so the enemy captured all the British forts on the Congaree and the Santee, and during this period Rawdon's forces blew up the works, destroyed the stores, and evacuated Nelson's Ferry. After a futile attempt to relieve Fort Granby, they retreated to Monk's Corner, thirty miles above Charleston.¹⁴³ South Carolina was all but lost to the British. "Indeed, I should betray the duty I owe Your Excellency," the commandant in

¹⁴¹ Benjamin Ingraham's Diary, p. 1.

¹⁴² Lee, The American Revolution in the South, p. 352.

¹⁴³ Moultrie, Memories of the American Revolution, pp. 280-281; Fortescue, A History of the British Army, 3: 387.

Charleston had written to Clinton just before, "did I not represent the defection of this province [as] so universal that I know of no mode short of depopulation to retain it."¹⁴⁴

Sergeant Benjamin Ingraham lay in the general hospital in Charleston while the rest of the King's American Regiment moved south to Savannah. In a skirmish shortly after the evacuation of Savannah Benjamin received several wounds, one of which was a musket ball in the hip. The ball, lodged so deeply that it defied extraction, was carried by Benjamin to his grave.¹⁴⁵ The normal practice of the day was for the physician to begin by removing the ball and then applying a ligature to restrain hemorrhage. The first dressing was usually light with a soft flannel bandage, the second contained a mild digestive, with a bread and milk poultice over all. If one managed to escape serious infection in the wound or fatal dehydration from dysentery or the horrors of putrid fever, one was lucky indeed. Benjamin was fortunate; he was discharged from the hospital on 5 August 1781, being sufficiently recovered from his wounds "so as to be able to walk"; he rejoined the Regiment in Savannah on 7 August.¹⁴⁶

As usual he lost no time in sizing up the town.

¹⁴⁴Balfour to Clinton, 6 May 1781, in Clinton, The American Rebellion, p. 520.

¹⁴⁵Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story," biographical material at the conclusion.

¹⁴⁶Benjamin Ingraham's Diary, p. 1.

The town is but Small & Very much Shattered by the Seage of the french in 79. The Streets Run almost North & South and East & West & very Sandy. It Lays on the south side of the River. The buildings are small and old in Gen^l. In it is a Church & meeting house, Gold & Provost. This is the cap^l of Georgia, a Prinsable town for the Indian Trade. Great Numbers of dear skins & Fur brought in on pack Horses. The streats nasty and unpaved, Exept in frunt of the houses, about 8 feet on each side of the street. The wether Exeeding hot and uncomfortable, the water very bad, things Excessive dear, the Harber Dangerous by Reason of Haricains of Wind.¹⁴⁷

A Georgia refugee painted a similar picture of the town after the siege. "When we got into town," she wrote, "it offered a desolate view. The streets were cut into deep holes by the shells, and the houses were riddled with the rain of cannon balls."¹⁴⁸

Benjamin Ingraham was to spend a year in Savannah while the political and military situation worsened for the Loyalists with startling and terrifying rapidity. In quick succession in the months of June and July, Augusta, Georgetown, and Ninety-six fell to the enemy. Eutaw Springs on 8 September was the last major battle in the South. The surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown on 19 October to all intents and purposes ended the war. In the South the British confined themselves to Charleston and Savannah, and hostilities were restricted to occasional raids and skirmishes.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 1.

¹⁴⁸ Elizabeth Lichtenstein Johnston, Recollections of a Georgia Loyalist (New York: Mansfield Co., 1901), p. 63.

It is doubtful if the Loyalists at this time realized the full significance of Yorktown. Most of their writings continued to be cheerful and even optimistic. On 13 February 1782 James Rivington reported that in Charleston and Savannah the King's troops and Loyalists were "very healthy, amply supplied with provisions, and by no means disconcerted at the return of the Rebel General Greene."¹⁴⁹ Benjamin Ingraham wrote on the twenty-fourth that the provost had arrived in Savannah to muster the provincial troops and that there was nothing else to write about.¹⁵⁰ Benjamin's two sergeant colleagues, Peter Boyce and Hezekiah Wyatt, were still with him, and his brother Abijah had been a corporal for some months now in Captain Attwood's cavalry company.¹⁵¹ Colonel Fanning had left Charleston for England in December, and Major Grant had returned from New York in January in a very grave physical condition.¹⁵² And life went on uneventfully till June.

Savannah was to be evacuated. On 14 June 1782 Benjamin wrote: "The troops began to destroy the works in the town. . . . The Militia are to be carried to Charleston. Numbers of the Inhabitants are going with the troops."

¹⁴⁹ Rivington's Royal Gazette, 23 February 1782.

¹⁵⁰ Benjamin Ingraham's Diary, p. 2.

¹⁵¹ Muster Roll of King's American Regiment, 25 February 1782, Vol. 1903, Series C, RG8, PAC.

¹⁵² Benjamin Ingraham's Diary, p. 18; Mrs. Penuel Grant to Sir Guy Carleton, 15 September 1782, Item 5602, Vol. 3, British Headquarters Papers, MG23, B1, PAC; Henry Nase's Diary, p. 49.

Preparations continued until by 11 July everything had been moved out of the town. The British and Loyalist troops withdrew to Tybee Island, and General Anthony Wayne occupied Savannah. On the twenty-first they burned the barracks on Coxpur Island and began to load the provisions; on the same day six ships bound for the West Indies sailed. The remainder of the troops embarked on the twenty-third, and the fleet, thirty-six sail in all, departed the next day, arriving in Charleston the day after. Here all the men from the Regiment who were fit for duty were ordered to disembark, "while the Sick, Women & Baggage were sent to N York." On the twenty-seventh the fleet sailed.¹⁵³

Sergeant Ingraham and his friends must by this time have been experts at all the activities involved in evacuating a post. There was one more to go--Charleston. But not for a few months yet. In the meantime Benjamin looked about the city, the metropolis of the South. He had much to say about it.

This Country is Cultivated by Blacks all together with Drivers over them, it is Computed that their is ten Blacks to a White Person, exept Soldiers & saylers. As for the Inhabitants they are small and payl and thin-favoured & lives Chiefly on teas, fish and fresh [?], the Ladyes Exceeding Polite and of a warm nature and obliging Disposition.

The Dress of the Inhabitants is very Extravagant, Chiefly Silks & Velvets. Those small Rivers is Exelent for fish, foul and the Country is full of Wild Beasts such as Dear, Woolves, Bares, foxes, Rackoons, &c.

¹⁵³ Benjamin Ingraham's Diary, pp. 7-8.

He continued to demonstrate the soldier's concern for batteries, redoubts, and works and reported that Charleston in addition was protected by two rivers and the accompanying impregnable swamps in the centre of which was "the Quarter-house with works & artillery sufficient for 250 men to fight." Causeways wound through the swamps with, of course, provision made for their protection.

But no time was wasted. Within a couple of months Hadley Point and Rob's Island were evacuated after the destruction of their works, and James Island shared a similar fate before the end of September.¹⁵⁴

There were concerns, too, other than those of evacuating the city. Charleston was completely surrounded by the enemy on the land side, leaving it entirely dependent upon the fleet for provisions. Although the intention of General Leslie, now in command, to withdraw from the city with all possible speed was public knowledge, General Greene persisted in concentrating his troops on one single object, that of preventing his enemy from drawing any subsistence whatever from the surrounding countryside. Leslie tried to make a deal which would have been advantageous to both sides, the one requiring food, the other in desperate need of clothing, blankets, and, above all, specie. The refusal of the South Carolina Government to cooperate left the British no

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., pp. 5-6.

alternative to hunger but to raid the countryside for food.¹⁵⁵

Consequently, the forays continued, both by sea and by land. Benjamin Ingraham wrote an account of Major Doyle's seizure of a number of trading vessels from the West Indies near Georgetown and of his triumphant return with "Considerable Value of Prises and Rice." At a later date the same Major Doyle on a foraging expedition up the Combahee River with about forty men was attacked by the dashing young Colonel Laurens with three hundred cavalry. Laurens, son of a well-known Continental Congress president, was killed. "Our loss," Benjamin wrote, "was three killed and 4 wounded."

On another occasion

The Cavalry under the Com^d of Major Fraser fell in with a Party of Rebels Commanded by Merian [Marion] in person in which action Capt. McKinsey of South Carolina was killed & Capt. Dawkins was Wounded, Both of SCL Regt & 2 Privits. Major Fraser brought in sundry head of fine Cattel & Sheep besides other eatable things.¹⁵⁶

Attention presumably was distracted from "eatable things" on 27 September when the fleet, "36 Sayls besides the Convoys," arrived from New York, and preparations began in earnest for the evacuation of Charleston. The ships for St. Augustine, fifty besides small craft, left on 11 October and those for Halifax on the twelfth. On the twentieth more than sixty-four ships sailed in from New York, followed by thirty-six more four days later. At times there were more than two

¹⁵⁵ Lee, The American Revolution in the South, pp. 563-565.

¹⁵⁶ Benjamin Ingraham's Diary, p. 10.

hundred ships in the harbour.¹⁵⁷ Charleston was a busy port.

For the soldier there was never a dull moment in Charleston. News was received on 1 September that Major Grant had died on a voyage from Savannah to New York; on 29 September it was announced on orders that he was succeeded by Major John Coffin, formerly of the New York Volunteers. In town life was exciting, too. Benjamin felt that it was no longer safe to go out in the streets at night, numbers daily being robbed, beaten, and even murdered. Henry Nase recorded in his diary incidents of violence on the Charleston streets. "A Sg^t of the 17th Reg^t shot himself in Union Street this morning." "At eleven o'clock p.m. Mr. Anthony Litchmore was found mortally wounded on Broadway and expired immediately." "A soldier from the NY Vol^s was murdered near the Green last night." And, as usual, there was plenty of official violence as well. Benjamin Ingraham wrote that a detachment of troops had been sent out to protect the working party at the place where the ships took on water; one day some of these soldiers deserted, were pursued, caught, and executed on the Grand Parade. Henry Nase described the execution of one James McCan, three times a deserter, who after his court-martial was "Immediately Hanged on the Gallows, erected on the Green in front of the Parade for that purpose, where there was paraded about six hundred men and a vast number of spectators, not less than two Thousand souls." On another occasion Nase

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 13-14; Rivington's Royal Gazette, 4 January 1783.

wrote, "This day one William and John Turnbull were whipped five hundred lashes each at the most public parts of the Town and then Drumm'd out of the Garrison for harbouring two Deserters from the 63rd Reg^t and promising them a conveyance in a boat to join the Rebels." Apparently desertion was not the only way to get out of the army.¹⁵⁸

The general and the field officers stationed in Charleston had their final get-together when they "dined at the London Coffee house, 47, in number, which dinner was computed at 6 Ginnias 6 per man." Benjamin Ingraham was awed at this extravagance to the extent that it was the only entry in his diary on a social or recreational topic.¹⁵⁹ No wonder, considering the length of time it would have taken a private soldier to earn six guineas.

Evacuation proceedings moved swiftly in December. On the thirteenth the German soldiers began to embark at one o'clock in the afternoon and the Provincials two hours later, to be followed by the British the next morning. On the fourteenth the "Rebles fired 13 Guns & took possession of the town." By the seventeenth all was in readiness, and the fleet lay in Rublion Road "to be searched for Negroes & other property." At night they drew over the bar.

The fleets separated--for Jamaica, Santa Lucia, Florida, New York, and Britain. Benjamin Ingraham "was caught up

¹⁵⁸ Benjamin Ingraham's Diary, pp. 10-11; Henry Nase's Diary, pp. 63-74.

¹⁵⁹ Benjamin Ingraham's Diary, p. 10.

in a gail of wind" off Cape Hatteras, which lasted him over Christmas.¹⁶⁰ A few days later another storm hit them. "At 11 o'clock at night was the most shocking storm of wind, rain, hail, etc. I ever endured at sea," Henry Nase wrote, "and continued to rage with such violence I thought it impossible to continue above water. It was distressing to hear some crying Lord have mercy on me while others were swearing and blaspheming the name of the most high God."¹⁶¹ This storm brought Benjamin's ship and a few of the others to Sandy Hook and drove off for several days many of the less fortunate. On the way into the Narrows, they captured a Rebel ship, probably Benjamin's last involvement in an engagement with the enemy. By 4 January only thirteen of the ships had arrived; the others continued to limp into port for two weeks and more. On 5 January the King's American Regiment landed and went into camp at Flushing Fly on Long Island.¹⁶²

Benjamin Ingraham and the Regiment spent the remainder of their military career at Flushing Fly. Boyce and Wyatt were still Ingraham's sergeant colleagues. Colonel Fanning was still in England, to return a few months later, not to New York but to Halifax. Major Coffin had replaced Major Grant in Charleston. Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell was in serious trouble, accused by his fellow officers of financial

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Henry Nase's Diary, pp. 77-78.

¹⁶² Benjamin Ingraham's Diary, pp. 13-14; Rivington's Royal Gazette, 4 January 1783.

irregularities in the administration of the Regiment. He faced a court-martial which in June acquitted him of the more serious charges.¹⁶³ Many of the officers busied themselves with writing letters and memorials to people in high places in an effort to recoup losses incurred during the war and to ensure some provision for the future. Most of the rank and file, aware by now that the British had lost the war, must have spent a part of their time worrying about the days and years ahead.

The return of the prisoners occupied a great deal of the men's attention during the winter of 1783. Sergeant Ingraham had comments to make at different times, and his apparent concern is not surprising. It was well known that conditions in the prisons and on the prison ships were so shocking that "imprisonment was all but equivalent to a death sentence."¹⁶⁴ It was usual for prisoners to be crowded together in unventilated enclosures, freezing or stifling, depending on the season, on two-thirds rations of food often putrid or mouldy, with inadequate or non-existent sanitary facilities, and no opportunity for exercise.¹⁶⁵ These conditions made the prisons breeding places for dysentery and

¹⁶³ Lt.-Col. Campbell to Sir Guy Carleton, 4 June 1783, Item 7879, Vol. 50, British Headquarters Papers, MG23, B1, PAC.

¹⁶⁴ Louis C. Duncan, Medical Men in the American Revolution (Carlisle, Pa.: Medical Field Service School, 1931), p. 14.

¹⁶⁵ Force, American Archives, Series 5, 3, 1138-1139.

putrid fever, both of which carried off vast numbers. The bitterness and hatred engendered by the partisan nature of the war contributed to the inhumanity of the jailers in their treatment of their victims. A visitor to the prison in the North Dutch Church on William Street in New York wrote that, he found "the poor prisoners . . . in a miserable condition, four of them lying dead in the yard and several others dying in the house."¹⁶⁶ "Numbers of prisoners are brought in Every day by our privateers," Benjamin wrote. "The prisoner's die very fast."¹⁶⁷

No doubt Benjamin's concern was sharpened by the memory of his own time spent as a prisoner, of which there is no mention in the surviving portion of his diary. Perhaps, too, he realized how lucky he had been to have as one of his jailers an impressionable young girl who conveniently forgot to lock the door one evening after taking him his evening meal. He escaped and wandered about in the woods, dodging the enemy, for nearly two months before getting back to the Regiment again.¹⁶⁸

But that was now in the past; there were more immediate concerns. On 8 April Benjamin heard the proclamation of

¹⁶⁶Wertebaker, Father Knickerbocker Rebels, p. 106.

¹⁶⁷Benjamin Ingraham's Diary, p. 21.

¹⁶⁸Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story," p. 2. I have been able to find no corroboration of this story in Hannah's reminiscences.

peace read at the City Hall in New York. What a bitter pill that must have been for all the Loyalists--to be forced to face the fact that the war was irrevocably lost, that somehow the King they had trusted had failed them, that for nothing whatever they had sacrificed their homes and their means of livelihood, even the lives of some of their relatives and friends, that their enemies were now gloating in all the positions of power and prestige in every section of the country, that they had backed the losing side, that there was no hope of regaining acceptance in their own community, that there was no alternative but to forsake their homes and flee into an unknown wilderness; in short, that all they had believed in, hoped for, prayed for, fought for was lost.

Perhaps the dream which Benjamin Ingraham recorded in his diary on 14 February 1783 best symbolizes the uncertainty and dread with which he was tormented during that difficult time.

I Dreamed & behold three men were walking in the air with Cloathing of Scarlet & trimmings of Gold with the proclamation of piese to the parts of America, the 1st with the King's Standard in his wright hand, the 2nd with the Conditions of peas in a Large Sheet open in his hand reading as he walkt, Restoaring the Laws of the Nation to the Inhabitants. I Dreamed a Large white foul was walking before these men & that it was much in fear of them & that it spread its wings to fly from them and this foul had a white Tail in length to a Pecock which had been the most butyful bird in the world and as it flew a Black Eagel flew from those men and Cote this foul in his Claws & they Boath fell to the Earth intangle in each other's Claws & I Ran to Behold these fowls. As they perseaved me they Losed each other & the white Fowl flew with Grate swiftness sum distance to a mountain & fell Dead & was grately Lemented by Nombers that ware Spectators of these

actions and I awoke & it was a Dream.¹⁶⁹

Benjamin Ingraham's hopes and aspirations for a future in the land of his birth and of his forefathers flew away with the great white fowl. He knew that there was no hope of the laws of the nation, as he understood them, being restored to the inhabitants while the black eagle was predominant. The reading of the proclamation of peace was merely the formal declaration of that realization.

In April the King's American Regiment was put on general orders retroactive to December 1782.¹⁷⁰ In June the War Office issued orders for its disbanding.¹⁷¹ In the late summer Benjamin Ingraham went back to New Concord for his family preparatory to leaving the country.

Benjamin Ingraham's experience in the King's American Regiment was probably more or less typical of that of the ordinary Loyalist in any Provincial Regiment. Like many others, Ingraham had little choice but to join the Loyalist forces; after his escape from imprisonment he had only two other alternatives. One was to do an about face, sign the Association, and enlist in the Continentals or the militia, but his convictions, or perhaps his pride, or both, would not permit him that course. The other was to proceed to New York

¹⁶⁹ Benjamin Ingraham's Diary, p. 21.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁷¹ Richard FitzPatrick to Col. Edmund Fanning, 9 June 1783, Item 7943, Vol. 49, British Headquarters Papers, MG23, B1, PAC.

City within the British lines and throw himself on the mercy of the British Government for his subsistence. This, at best, was a risky undertaking, for a mere domicile in New York was no guarantee of adequate food and shelter, particularly for one young and able-bodied enough to serve in the army.

While some of the Provincial soldiers undoubtedly enlisted because of their political conscience, others "took the shilling" for a variety of other reasons. Some merely went along with their friends, some needed employment, some craved excitement, some were attracted by the bounty, and others merely wanted to get on one of the two band waggons, and this one seemed to offer the greater number of amenities. Many indicated that they were in no way motivated by profound political convictions by deserting and joining the army of the opposite side once, twice, or even several times.

Conditions in the Provincial Regiments appear to have been good by eighteenth century standards, certainly vastly superior to those in any corps of the Continentals. The Provincials were subject to the same regulations as the British army, their regiments were organized in the British style, and their pay and provisions supplied by the British Government. The Loyalist troops, however, differed from the British in several important respects. First, they lacked experience and required months of training before they were ready for frontline service. Second, their officers were generally appointed on the basis of their ability to raise recruits rather than for demonstrated ability and leadership. There

were, of course, exceptions like Henry Nase, who enlisted as a private in the King's American Regiment and was promoted from sergeant to ensign in the spring of 1783. The British officers, while not appointed for military qualities either, received their commissions as a result of social standing and ability to pay. Third, the Loyalist soldiers had a much better conception of the North American way of combat and were more able to anticipate the enemy's next move; the British still cherished the old "line" system of fighting.

At the outbreak of hostilities the British officials tended to be somewhat disdainful of colonial troops; they trusted neither their ability nor their loyalty. Moreover, they were unable to reach a clear understanding of exactly what sort of role to assign to the Loyalists. It was not until after Saratoga that the British Government came to the realization that the help of the American Loyalists was essential to the effective prosecution of the War. However, by that time it had become more difficult to recruit Provincials, for Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga and the entry of the French into the War had convinced great numbers of the uncommitted that Loyalism was a lost cause. The British, now aware of the importance of the Loyalists, tended to overestimate their numerical strength, and, in making greater use of them, to assign to them a larger role than they were able to play. "Despite failure and frustration, incompetence and irresolution," Paul H. Smith wrote, "schemes to use American Loyalists in the South to restore royal authority persisted, eventually

dominating British strategic planning after 1778."¹⁷² By the time the British Government got around to using the Loyalists it was already too late; moreover, it placed greater reliance on them than they warranted, subject as they were to taking their orders from British generals who were often incompetent, incompatible with each other, and ignorant of colonial conditions.¹⁷³

Benjamin Ingraham's career in the King's American Regiment serves to exemplify the Provincial soldier's experience in the Revolutionary War. During the first part of the war little was accomplished beyond training in New York. In the summer of 1778 his regiment was dispatched to Rhode Island for their first true encounter with the realities of war. A year later they went to Connecticut with the Loyalist General Tryon; before their mission was completed they were recalled because Tryon's methods were somewhat bloodier than Clinton thought proper, the British, having still some illusions that the Americans might be won back through kindness. For the next few months they moved hither and yon around New York, building fortifications up and tearing them down, while the generals vacillated. Benjamin and the rest of the Regiment were involved on Long Island on one fool's errand arising from a clash between Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot and in another in Virginia caused by the discord and lack of

¹⁷² Smith, Loyalists and Redcoats, p. 36.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

communication between Clinton and Cornwallis. Like most of the Provincial Regiments, Benjamin's was very active in the South in the latter years of the War; they played key roles in Georgetown, Camden, Savannah, and Charleston. In brief, the Loyalist soldiers displayed energy and enthusiasm whenever given the opportunity. Had they been recruited and employed at the beginning of hostilities and had their Loyalist leaders been given some voice in the planning and directing of the campaigns, the War might have followed quite a different course.

CHAPTER IV

JERUSHA INGRAHAM: TORY'S WIFE

Violence was by no means restricted to the opposing armies during the Revolutionary War; it was widespread among the people throughout the length and breadth of the Thirteen Colonies. John Shy, in A People Numerous and Armed, wrote of the need of a complete list of "all the petty alarms, raids, and skirmishes, the instances when daily routine was disrupted, people harmed, property lost or destroyed, and perhaps atrocities perpetrated." Such a compilation, he concluded, would correct the illusion that the American Revolution "somehow took place outside the dynamics of violence that have afflicted revolutionary struggles elsewhere."¹ Any apprehension that King's District differed from other American communities in this respect would be quite erroneous; King's District, too, suffered all the agony and bitterness which accompany all-out internecine strife any time and any where. Arrests, imprisonments, escapes, raids, break-ins, hold-ups, fights, threats, and all sorts of vigilante activity became the way of life.

¹ Shy, A People Numerous and Armed, p. 198.

Shy described revolutionary violence as "less an instrument of physical destruction than one kind of persuasion."² The two factions in the Revolution contended for ideological control, and neither would be satisfied until all dissidents and neutrals had come within the pale; the principles of concord and unanimity apparently were still considered worth struggling for. And in King's District the two sides, in the fall of 1776, were more or less evenly matched, and as a result the conflict between them was even more bitter and protracted. While the Patriots in the region by this time were numerous and active, there were large numbers of Loyalists in King's District as well as in adjoining Kinderhook and Claverack. The ranks of the able bodied Patriots had been shrunk by a draft in the summer of one hundred and fifty men from the militia to go with the army to Canada.³ Even so the Tories lived in constant dread of the Rebels, and vice versa; the social atmosphere of King's District was permeated with suspicion and fear.

The fears and suspicions of the people of King's District were not without foundation. The Patriots had no certain knowledge of the numbers of the enemy among them and often only nagging suspicions of their surreptitious comings and goings. As Hazel C. Matthews wrote:

² Ibid.

³ Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence,
1: 464.

. . . the Hudson valley buzzed with mystery. Furtive messengers passed down isolated country lanes at night. Wakeful women by midnight windows watched groups of armed men, stealthily passing. Lonely farm-houses opened noiseless doors to silently arriving travellers. Companies of Tory guerrillas, behind their neighbours' backs, prepared to fight for their king, then slipped away to join the redcoats.⁴

The Patriots of King's District seem to have had a somewhat less romantic view--to them the nocturnal activities of the Loyalists were sinister and serious, a threat to life and property, even though they had been promised a special detachment of troops for their protection.⁵ Atrocity stories, both true and fictional, circulated continuously, keeping the people in a constant state of anxiety. It was obvious to one concerned citizen that the "spirit of disaffection . . . requires vigorous measures to oppose and suppress it."⁶ Another wrote a letter to the newspaper advocating sterner measures. The disaffected, he believed, were no longer "honestly under a delusion . . . they sin with their eyes open, and don't mean to be convinced. The application of the halter and the gibbet . . . is the only remedy that can safely be relied upon at present."⁷ Not all were willing to take

⁴ Hazel C. Mathews, The Mark of Honour (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 8.

⁵ Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence, 1: 464. See also pp. 44-48 of this thesis.

⁶ Force, American Archives, Series 5, 3: 280.

⁷ Ibid., Series 5, 2: 485.

such extreme measures, except for serious offenses like spying, recruiting, counterfeiting, piloting enemy ships or guiding enemy troops, but undoubtedly the consensus among the Patriots was that the campaign against the Loyalists must be intensified, or the cause would be lost.

Persuasion having failed, the Patriots resorted to persecution in the fall of 1776 and kept it up until after the conclusion of the War. Their object was not only the suppression of the dangerous activities of professed Tories but also the coercion of the remaining "neutrals" into an open alliance with one faction or the other. Three events of the summer--the definition by the Provincial Convention of the terms "treason" and "citizenship," the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and the exposure by the King's District Committee of the so-called "Tory plot"--served to heighten the zeal of both the local and the county committees with the result that the Loyalists lived in constant fear of reprisals.

When Benjamin Ingraham was arrested on 6 October 1775 by Captain John Salisbury and his company of militia, his wife Jerusha Barrett Ingraham was left alone among hostile neighbours more or less to fend for herself. Jerusha, twenty-eight years of age at this time, was confronted with the responsibility of managing the farm in New Concord and caring for their two small children, four-year-old Hannah and three-year old John. For the next seven years she somehow succeeded in hanging on, tensely at times; she made ends meet, she endured the threats, taunts, and indignities of her Patriot

neighbours, never knowing at what moment she herself might be taken into custody, never certain that she would one day see her husband again. Life must indeed have been difficult. As Wallace Brown remarked, "Women in particular are always the great sufferers, being separated from their husbands and sons, living in constant dread of bereavement."⁸

Reprisal from the King's District Committee was not long in coming to Jerusha. In a frantic campaign to crush its enemies and restore safety in the community the Committee lashed out in all directions in late 1776.⁹ The enemy was everywhere, lurking in the forest, hiding in Tory cellars and attics by day, riding about at night, sometimes dressed as Indians, attacking the guards and plundering homes. There seemed to be nowhere to turn for help from this constant menace. A detachment of one hundred and fifty men under Colonel Van Rensselaer had been promised by the Chairman of the County Committee, but his order was countermanded by the State Committee of Safety, there being a greater need of the detachment elsewhere. To police the neighbourhood, Colonel Whiting was advised to utilize those members of the local militia who remained in King's District and perhaps even seek aid from their friends in Berkshire County. But very few of the militia were left in the region; in addition to the

⁸ Brown, The Good Americans, p. 139.

⁹ The members of this Committee, elected on 31 May 1776 were: Matthew Adgate, Asa Douglass, Peter Guernsey, Nehemiah Fitch, John Beebe, Philip Frisbee, Samuel Bayle, and Nehemiah Burlingham.

detachment for Canada, there had been a call for troops to march to Fort Edward to stem the tide of Sir Guy Carleton's advance up Lake Champlain towards the Hudson. The very largest force Colonel Whiting could hope to muster could not exceed a hundred at best; most of the time the people had to depend for protection on a body of fifteen or twenty Rangers.¹⁰

Much of the responsibility for public safety consequently rested upon the shoulders of the Committee, by this time a local of the Committee for Inquiring Into, Detecting, and Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York. The new Committee had far-reaching powers,--to send for persons and papers; to call out detachments of the militia or troops as they deemed necessary for suppressing insurrection; to apprehend, secure, or remove persons they judged dangerous to the safety of the State; to make drafts on the Treasury for sums up to five hundred pounds; to enjoin secrecy of their members; and to raise any number of men up to two hundred and twenty and station them where they felt advisable in the interest of public safety.¹¹ The King's District Committee was invested with a great deal more power and was not slow in making use of it. Citizens were encouraged to lay complaints against those they suspected of disaffection, and as a result a continuous stream of suspicious, zealous, and sometimes malicious

¹⁰See Force, American Archives, Series 5, 3: 561-590.

¹¹Minutes of the Convention of New York; Force, American Archives, Series 5, 3: 456-467.

sympathizers of the American cause appeared before the Committee to swear out affidavits against neighbours, friends, and even relatives. All suspects were examined by the Committee, and, if the charges could not be substantiated, were at least required to sign the Association. If they refused, they were kept under constant surveillance and often treated as objects of scorn; a few months later repercussions took on a much more serious nature.¹²

New York had harsher laws against the Loyalists than any other province except South Carolina, no doubt because Loyalism posed a more serious threat here than in most colonies.¹³ To make it even worse, local authorities often took matters into their own hands, meting out harsh punishments against those who disagreed with them.¹⁴ It was not even necessary to commit any overt act against the American cause to run afoul of the Committee; merely saying nothing was sometimes sufficient justification for arrest. The new Commission by 1777 had introduced a novel idea for rooting out Loyalist suspects--it charged them with a criminal act

¹²See the Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence.

¹³Brown, The King's Friends, p. 78; Claude H. Van Tyne, The Loyalists in the American Revolution (New York: Macmillan Co., 1902), Appendixes B and C; Claude H. Van Tyne, The American Revolution, 1776-1783 (New York: Macmillan Co., 1905), map facing page 250 shows New York and South Carolina as having the heaviest penalties.

¹⁴Brown, The Good Americans, pp. 37-40; Flick, Loyalism in New York During the American Revolution, pp. 78-84.

against the revolutionary government, brought them before the Committee, and required them to take an oath of allegiance to the new state. Refusal was enough to convict them of dangerous disaffection.¹⁵ Any one on the local Committee was authorized to seize obnoxious persons and punish them at the Committee's discretion and, of course, within the prescribed list of penalties. Loyalists were not allowed to have counsel, but in Albany County they could demand that their accusers face them and they could bring witnesses to testify in their favour.¹⁶

The crimes for which a Tory might be arrested were numerous,--arming to support the British or aiding the enemy in any way, harbouring or associating with Tories, recruiting, refusing to muster, corresponding with Loyalists or with the British, refusing to sign the Association or flouting its provisions, denouncing or disobeying congresses and committees, writing or speaking against the American cause, rejecting continental money, refusing to surrender arms, drinking the king's health, holding a royal office, inciting or participating in riots or plots against the American cause, even attempting neutrality.¹⁷ Jerusha Ingraham had associated

¹⁵ Ashton, "The Loyalist Experience in New York, 1763-1789," p. 108.

¹⁶ Flick, Loyalism in New York during the American Revolution, pp. 78-84; Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence, 1: 30, 133-134, 324, 390, 450.

¹⁷ The crimes are listed in Flick, Loyalism in New York during the American Revolution, p. 84.

with Tories, she had even harboured one, and moreover she was the wife of a man who was guilty of several of the specified crimes. Under such circumstances life could not be otherwise than difficult for her and for thousands like her. To avoid exciting the anger or suspicion of dedicated and zealous Patriots must have required the sustained maintenance of a very low profile indeed.

Not that all Patriots were avid persecutors of Tories; some were, some were not, depending to a large extent on the personality of both the hunter and the hunted. Some Patriots were thorough and relentless in their pursuit, cruel and malicious in their punishment; others were lenient, especially towards those who had committed no open act against the cause. Considerations such as kinship and friendship often entered the picture as did those of prewar animosity and rivalry. Cruelty and vindictiveness might be demonstrated against a former foe at the same time as gentleness and compassion towards a friend or relative. Be that as it may, the local and county committees were charged with the responsibility of protecting their cause and its supporters against its enemies; consciousness of their duty contributed to their realization that they must constantly be watchful and alert. In a letter in August to Governor Trumbull the Albany County Committee Chairman expressed his uneasiness and concern.

The situation of this County as a frontier induces us to be particularly careful, in lessening the number of our internal enemies, besides the great number of disaffected among us. Their constant meetings, plots, and conspiracies oblige us to consult every method for

placing them in a situation where they can do no injury to the general cause, by joining with the forces of the British King, assisting his army, or by opposing and preventing the support of our forces to the northward and westward.¹⁸

Whether prompted by concern for the general cause or the general state of the community coffers, some members of the King's District Committee visited Jerusha Ingraham in November 1776. Her husband had been confined for four days before his escape in October, and some one must pay the costs of that confinement. Consequently, the Committee appropriated a part of the Ingraham live stock to the value of £10 to pay for Benjamin's food, lodging, and other expenses. They returned in November and took an inventory of the moveable estate,--a yoke of oxen, a yoke of steers, seven milch cows, four young cattle, thirty-eight sheep, six pigs, a set of farm utensils, one hundred and forty bushels of wheat, thirty bushels of rye, fifty bushels of oats, and one hundred and fifty bushels of corn. They seized all this and set an inspector over it until such time as it should be sold by them. Jerusha was allowed to retain for herself one heifer and four sheep.¹⁹ Anticipating this calamity, her brother-in-law Abijah had taken to his own place the sheep he had given to little Hannah as a present. John, however, was not so fortunate--they seized his pet lamb. But John was not at all

¹⁸ Force, American Archives, Series 5, 1: 889.

¹⁹ Claims of the American Loyalists, pp. 23-27, vol. 26, Series 1, MG14, A012, PAC.

inclined to part with his pet without a struggle. As Hannah recounted years after

Little John, my brother, had a pet lamb and he went to the Committee men and spoke up and said, "Won't you let me have my lamb?" He was a little fellow, four years old, so they let him have it.²⁰

Jerusha and the children were allowed to remain in their home until Benjamin returned in 1783 after the end of the War. However, they no longer owned it. On 18 February 1778 all the moveables were finally sold at public auction; at the same time the house and farm were seized by the Committee. From then on Jerusha was allowed to live there only on a rental basis; she was permitted to make use of the land and to keep all she and the children produced.²¹ Abijah helped her out until sometime in 1777 when he too enlisted in the King's American Regiment and, like his brother, had his property confiscated.²² Jerusha certainly must have missed Abijah's help, but presumably she was still not friendless in King's District. She was probably on good terms with at least some of the other women in the same predicament, most of them neighbours and members of the same Anglican congregation, women like Abigail and Lucretia Woodward, Mary McCarty, Sarah Lockwood, Sarah Potter, Rebecca Ryan, Ann Savage, and

²⁰ Tippet, "The Hannah Ingraham Story"

²¹ Claims of the American Loyalists, pp. 23-27, vol. 26, Series 1, MG14, A012, PAC.

²² Erastus C. Knight, New York in the Revolution as Colony and State, Supplement (Albany: Oliver A. Quayle, 1901), p. 255.

others. In addition there were many relatives, some of whom more than likely could be depended upon for help. As well as Benjamin's father and two younger brothers, there was her own brother, Joshua Barrett, who was married to Benjamin's sister. Other Barretts, members of Jerusha's family, lived in New Concord, too, all of them on the American side in the contest, none of them apparently fanatically so.²³ Somewhere among all this group Hannah was bound to find someone upon whom she could depend to furnish help when she needed it.

Many Loyalists were arrested by the Patriots during the months of November and December 1776 in King's District and its immediate environs. Early in November Colonel Van Rensselaer ordered Captain Fonda to march to Exeter, New Hampshire with the prisoners whose names appeared on the list he enclosed--one hundred and thirteen in all. Captain Fonda was enjoined to "have a particular eye on those marked with an asterisk [there were forty] and to confine those in irons

²³The only Barrett appearing on the Seventeenth Regiment lists is Colbun Barrett; his name does not appear on the 1779 tax list for King's District, nor on the 1790 census list for the Town of Canaan. Nevertheless he may have been the son of one of the Barretts whose name does appear. There are three--David, Thomas, and Joshua (Colbun is not Joshua's son). It is a question whether this Thomas Barrett is the same Thomas Barrett, cooper, who ran afoul of the Committee in Albany on 4 June 1776 when he helped escort the mayor to a gathering at the house of Richard Cartwright, where some of the inhabitants of the city "went to Cartwright's, to inform themselves of the occasion of this indecent meeting, when, to their astonishment, they found Abraham C. Cuyler, Stephen De Lancey, and John Monier, with a number of the lower sort of people, carousing, and singing God save the King, &c." (Peter Force, American Archives, Series 5, 1: 889.)

who appear to be dangerous."²⁴ Lieutenant Jarvis Mudge delivered six men from King's District to the Tory Gaol in Albany on 9 November and twenty-four more on the twenty-sixth.²⁵ And so it went; the Rebels were busy but so were the Tories. On 31 October the County Committee received intelligence that "a party of Tories from King's District & the South East part of Rensselaerwyck were cohorting together to join the enemy." They were planning on traveling north to join the British, and had agreed "if they were discovered to make a wad of their muster roll and put it into the Barrel of their Captain's [Andrew Palmetier] Gun."²⁶ Other groups, too, were trying to reach the British army in the north while some, like Benjamin Ingraham and his friends, were working their way south to New York. Rumours tended often to be more disquieting or encouraging, depending upon the point of view, than actual fact. It was said that John Savage had 500 men with him in the forest and that they had disarmed one colonel of the militia and captured his guns and ammunition. Stories spread of the adventures of one William Busby who was supposedly recruiting for the Tories in Spencertown and of the plans of General Howe, General Tryon and Sir John Johnson to raise a Battalion

²⁴ Force, American Archives, Series 5, 3: 466, 468.

²⁵ Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence, 1: 603, 622.

²⁶ Calendar of Historical Manuscripts Relating to the War of the Revolution in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N.Y., 2 volumes (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1868), 2: 530.

of Loyal Volunteers in Albany County. And the activities of Barret Dyer, in 1775 a representative for King's District on the Albany County Committee and the captain of a company in the Seventeenth Regiment and now, a year later, a Tory wandering about in the woods awaiting his chance to get to the British army, furnished a topic for conversation and conjecture among the adherents of both sides.²⁷ Much was happening; life was not dull in King's District in the autumn of 1776.

Life was no less turbulent in 1777. The news of the capture by the Rebels of John Savage and John Claaus in the Nine Partners must have reached King's District some time in the month of January. Savage was tried and found guilty; it was ordered that since he was "a most inveterate Enemy to the American Cause" and had a "Warrant to raise Men for their Service" and had "long industriously aided their designs to subjugate the States of America," he should be sent to jail in Kingston "there to remain in safe Custody in Irons 'till this Com: or the Convention or future Legislature of the State shall make further order concerning him."²⁸ John Claaus, in his testimony for himself, appears to have been somewhat more successful; his case was ordered to "lay over for further Consideration."²⁹ The news of the trials had

²⁷Force, American Archives, Series 5, 3: 561-590.

²⁸Paltsits, Minutes of the Committee for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies, 1: 99.

²⁹Ibid., 1: 141-142.

certainly reached Albany County by the end of the month for on the thirtieth the field officers of Kinderhook District petitioned the County Committee "to point out a mode to get John W. Claaus released out of confinement at Fish Kills"-- Claaus no doubt appeared to them like a first rate source of intelligence on Loyalist activities in the area.³⁰ In his trial Claaus had stated that he had traveled to New York in the company of Cornelius Ryan, Joseph Potter, and Benjamin Ingraham. This news likely got around, too, and Jerusha may have known where her husband was in the winter of 1777. The Loyalists had their own "telegraph" system, which no doubt brought occasional news to the women of King's District of the health and whereabouts of their menfolk.

The Loyalists, too, had a fairly effective spy system, some of it operating right in King's District. The case of Samuel Goodfellow of New Concord furnishes an illustration. Not only had Goodfellow concealed Tories in his own house and supplied them with provisions but he had also gone a step further. He had been frequently out with the militia in pursuit of Tories but had always taken care not to lead the militia anywhere near the place of concealment.³¹ The militia in 1777 had problems, too, other than those relating to spies within their ranks. Desertion became a serious matter.

³⁰Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence,
2: 670-671.

³¹Paltsits, Minutes of the Committee for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies, 1: 300-301.

General Schuyler wrote from Fort Edward during the summer that "it is a melancholy reflection that the militia deserted almost as fast as they came in."³² Others, like John Guernsey, failed to answer the call to muster for an expedition northward. Guernsey, fined £30, appealed his case to the County Committee on the grounds that his "reason for staying at home [was] occasioned by the illness of his Wife, who had lain helpless for some time."³³ Guernsey was excused on the posting of a bond; perhaps the fact that his brother Peter was a member of the King's District Committee and the quartermaster of the Seventeenth Regiment contributed to the leniency of his judges. In February, too, a complaint was laid against Elijah Hudson, a captain in the Seventeenth Regiment, for resigning his commission and "for being guilty of inimical proceedings." Appearing before the Committee at a later date, he was placed on parole to remain in Albany until further examination by the General Committee.³⁴ Thus the winter passed, and spring came with its promise of rebirth in the fields and forests as well as a renewal of fighting and bloodshed on the battlefields.

Spring marked the beginning of a new onslaught by the British on Lake Champlain and the Hudson. Major General John

³²Journals of the New York Provincial Congress,
1: 1017.

³³Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence,
1: 653.

³⁴Ibid., 1: 690, 766.

Burgoyne had been second in command (under Carleton) in 1776, but after a successful winter in England devoted to impressing the most influential members of the Government, he arrived back in Quebec on 6 May 1777 as commander of the northern army. Burgoyne's troops assembled at St. Johns on the Richelieu on 13 June, British, Germans, Canadians, and Indians, in all 7,213 rank and file. The advance corps of the army left Crown Point on 26 June and pushed on ahead with its Indians, Canadians, and Tories; on 1 July the main part of the army took its positions at strategic points around Fort Ticonderoga, one party on the top of Sugar Loaf Hill (Mount Defiance) commanding the Fort at 1400 yards. Major General St. Clair, the American commander at Ticonderoga, regarding his position as hopeless, abandoned the fort and retreated in the sweltering heat over the undulating waggon-track that passed for a road twenty-four miles to Hubbardton and then six more to Castleton. When St. Clair learned that the detachments he had posted at Hubbardton and Skenesborough (now Whitehall) had both been routed by the enemy he marched on to Rutland and thence by a circuitous route to Fort Edward where he arrived on 12 July.

There was now no military obstacle between Burgoyne's army at Skenesborough and Fort Edward. "Gentleman Johnny" had the choice of two routes south--he chose the wrong one. The first involved doubling back to Ticonderoga and then proceeding by way of Lake George; Fort Edward was only ten miles or so from the head of the lake. The other led up Wood Creek

from Skenesborough to Fort Ann and from there sixteen miles by road to Fort Edward. It has been said that Burgoyne made his decision on the advice of Philip Skene, a supposed expert on the country, who really was interested in having a road cut through the wilderness from his Skenesborough to the Hudson. It was an unfortunate choice; General Philip Schuyler, commander of the Americans at Fort Edward, saw to it that the march was a horrendous nightmare for the British and Germans. At best the route was almost impassable, cut through enormous pines and hemlocks, numbers of which had fallen and crisscrossed the road. The first part of the road hugged the steep banks of Wood Creek, crossing some forty streams by high and long bridges over deep ravines. Countless bogs and swamps along the way added to the difficulties. And, as if this were not enough, it had been an unusually wet spring, and the water was high in the streams and lay deep in the swamps and morasses.

Schuyler put one thousand axemen to work on the route to create even more insurmountable obstacles. They felled mazes of huge trees across the road; they destroyed all the bridges; they rolled huge boulders into the streams to back up the water over the road and adjoining land; they dug ditches to create more ponds and swamps and to deepen the existing ones; they warned farmers to move their cattle out of reach of the soldiers. Burgoyne's men followed into "the jungle of obstructions." Working in the stifling heat among clouds of mosquitoes and black flies, they cut away the fallen

trees, drained the swamps, rebuilt the bridges, built a two-mile causeway and numerous corduroys, and three weeks later on 29 July they had covered the twenty-three miles to Fort Edward.

Meanwhile Schuyler had received reinforcements, bringing his total force up to 2900 Continental rank and file and more than 1600 militia. Aware that his numbers were insufficient to hold the dilapidated fort, he fell back to Saratoga, then to Stillwater, and finally to the mouth of the Mohawk.

The northern front was quiet for a brief period in the mid-summer of 1777; the armies of Burgoyne and Schuyler were encamped some twenty-four miles, "a long day's march," from each other, the British in high spirits after their successes against the Americans and their relief at the conclusion of the gruelling march from Skeneshorough. The Loyalists of Albany County were encouraged, if not actually jubilant, as a result of Burgoyne's success; the British army was but a short distance from Albany and appeared to be on the verge of stamping out the rebellion in the area and bringing their rebellious neighbours to justice. Women like Jerusha Ingraham must have been hopeful. The appeal for volunteers for a loyal battalion in the County was widely circulated; loyal citizens were exhorted to enlist "in order to assist in restoring public peace and tranquility in the distressed country, as they cannot expect any protection or friendship from His Majesty's forces if they do not do their utmost endeavours to assist

His Majesty in subduing and conquering his rebellious subjects, in order to bring them to condign punishment."³⁵

If the summer of 1777 was an encouraging time for the Loyalists, it was quite the opposite for the Patriots. It began to look as if their cause might even be lost. In the words of Henry Van Schaack, a Kinderhook contemporary

The rapid approach of Burgoyne's army towards Albany, before he had been checked by the defeat at Bennington and the obstructions to his march interposed by General Schuyler; the sudden and unexpected evacuation of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence by the American forces under General St. Clair; and the descent of St. Ledger upon Oswego and his investiture at Fort Schuyler; with the apprehended ascent of the Hudson by the British forces at New York, and various other discouraging circumstances kept the city of Albany, and the surrounding country, for many weeks in the greatest conceivable state of consternation and alarm.³⁶

The inhabitants of Albany County were appalled by stories of the widespread desertion of soldiers from Schuyler's army, the rumoured gatherings of the disaffected, and the frequency of robberies and acts of vandalism and violence. Many fled from the city of Albany to the country, taking with them what valuables they could carry and burying what they had to leave behind; at the same time frantic and frightened country people sought refuge in the city.³⁷ So alarmed were they by affairs to the northward that the Albany County Committee in August

³⁵ George Clinton, Public Papers of George Clinton, First Governor of New York, 10 volumes (New York & Albany: Wynkoop, Hallenbeck, Crawford Co., 1899), 2: 159n.

³⁶ Van Schaack, Memoirs of the Life of Henry Van Schaack, pp. 72-73.

³⁷ Ibid.

requested military aid from their friends in New England.³⁸

The threat of imminent disaster spurred the county and local committees on to greater efforts in their campaign against the disaffected. Arrests and imprisonments increased in numbers and in frequency. In May 1777 the King's District Committee arrested James Savage, Gideon Burr, and Jonathan Allen and sent them to Albany for trial. Fearing "men of words," the local authorities were afraid to risk a public examination of these three in the home community, "it being conceived that the said Persons might convince their countrymen in Case they were brought before the Committee of Kings District that the Suspicions harboured against them were groundless." The suspects' feared facility with words seems to have stood them in good stead in Albany for the County Committee, far from consigning them to the Fleet Prison as anticipated, sent them back home on "their Parole of Honor to attend the said Committee when called upon" and to give full satisfaction.³⁹

Not so fortunate were three others of the New Concord Anglican congregation, one of them Jerusha Ingraham's father-in-law. Benjamin Ingraham, senior, Moses Wooster, and Asa Beebe were incarcerated in the Fleet Prison for being inimical to the American cause. Hannah Ingraham spoke of her grandfather's arrest in her reminiscences.

³⁸Clinton, Public Papers of George Clinton, 2 :158.

³⁹Minutes of the Albany Committee of Correspondence, 1: 765.

They took grandfather a prisoner and sent him on board a prison ship.

Mother rode fifty miles on horseback in one day when she heard it to go to see him and take him some money to buy some comforts. He had a paralytic stroke when he was there, and he never recovered, poor grandfather.⁴⁰

Jerusha assuredly did not make the fifty-mile trip on horseback by herself. Such a journey over poor roads in troubled times with bands of robbers, of disaffected, of militia, of Rangers, of adventurers making their way along the trails or lurking among the trees was too dangerous a trip for a lone woman, especially one as unaccustomed to travel as she was. More than likely Jerusha was one of a party consisting of other members of the family, John, Samuel, or Joshua Barrétt and perhaps some of the Woosters and Beebes who braved the hazards of the journey to take some money and comforts to their loved ones. Benjamin senior was greatly in need of such a visit for his health was bad. Whether or not he had a paralytic stroke, as Hannah said, or some other serious ailment, he was ill and never quite regained his former state of health.

Life on board a ship in the Fleet Prison, situated in the Hudson River off Esopus (Kingston), was hardly conducive to good health among the prisoners. Established in May 1777, the Fleet Prison was intended to relieve the crowded conditions in other prisons in the state and to accommodate those of the disaffected who were still at large because of a lack

⁴⁰ Tippet, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

of jail facilities. Living conditions on board these ships were terrible but probably no worse than those existing in most prisons operated by both sides for the enemies of their cause. While superior to that in the dreaded Simsbury Mines in Connecticut, the quality of life in the Fleet Prison was at best degrading and debilitating. So persistent were the complaints of the prisoners, many of them in irons, of starvation and cruelty that the Provincial Congress on 21 June 1777 framed a set of rules for the guidance of the jailers.⁴¹ Rations were fixed, all to be paid for by the prisoners.⁴² However, the prescribed amount of food, deemed too generous, was reduced, the new schedule to go into effect on 1 September. The Council of Safety for the State of New York, after a brief study, decided on a daily ration of one-quarter of a pound of beef, pork, mutton or half a pound of fish along with a pound and a half of flour, these supplies to be doled out once every second day. In addition, once in ten days each man was to receive half a pint of vinegar, an ounce of salt, and two quarts of pease.⁴³

If the Council's decision represented an improvement, one wonders how horrendous life must have been before.

⁴¹ Journals of the Provincial Congress of New York, 1: 937, quoted in Jones, History of New York, p. 708.

⁴² Ibid., 1: 973-974, quoted in Jones, History of New York, p. 708.

⁴³ Knight, New York in the Revolution, p. 237.

Certainly, Benjamin Ingraham senior, a sixty-three-year-old man in poor health, must have suffered unbearably in the Fleet Prison, breathing its fetid air, barely subsisting on its putrid food, sitting or lying in chains with insufficient exercise amidst the vermin and filth, and suffering the insults, indignities, and cruelties of his jailers. The future must have looked hopeless, indeed. There seemed no hope of rescue or escape; even if he could succeed in getting away, his only prospect was the life of a fugitive, skulking in the forests, existing precariously from day to day always in dread of capture. The only option, the only hope of remaining alive actually, seemed to be to sign the association and attempt to accommodate himself to the new order. Accordingly, on 4 October 1777 he and his two friends capitulated. The secretary recorded in the minutes of the Committee for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies

Moses, Wooster, Asa Beebe, & Benja^a Ingrum having
Voluntarily taken the Oath of Allegiance to this
State

Ordered that they be discharged.⁴⁴

Benjamin Ingraham senior had very likely left Esopus before his son arrived to participate in reducing the town to ashes.

Much had happened before Benjamin Ingraham senior got back home to New Concord--it was no longer quiet to the north. On 11 August General Burgoyne had dispatched Lieutenant Colonel Friedrich Baum, a German officer incapable of uttering

⁴⁴ Paltsits, Minutes of the Committee for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies, 1: 391.

a single word of English, to the newly-created state of Vermont. The objects of the projected foray were manifold and varied, "to try the affections of the people, to disconcert the councils of the enemy, to obtain large supplies of cattle, horses, and carriages," to make prisoners of all enemies to the British cause, to recruit able-bodied men for the British army. Baum's adviser, "to help him distinguish the good from the bad," was none other than Colonel Philip Skene, and his advice to Baum seems to have been as bad as that he had given to Burgoyne a few weeks before. Baum, assured by Skene that the people of the area between Fort Edward and Bennington were Loyalists five to one, was completely taken in. On the march he attempted to welcome to his ranks all the bodies of shirt-sleeved farmers with muskets over their shoulders that he encountered along the way--not until afterwards did he realize that they were Patriots, not Loyalists. By the time Baum was aware of what was happening about him, it was too late. The wily John Stark, an officer from New Hampshire, had completely out-manoeuvred him, his troops were on the run, and he himself lay dying on the battlefield. This was the Battle of Bennington on 16 August 1777, the beginning of the end for "Gentleman Johnny" Burgoyne.⁴⁵

The King's District Committee was busy during the month of August. The case of twenty-eight men suspected of

⁴⁵For a good account of the Battle of Bennington, see Ward, The War of the Revolution, "Bennington," Chapter 37, 1: 417-431.

planning to "join the Enemy" was discussed at the meeting at Warner's Tavern on 21 August. On the twenty-seventh the case of the Taylors and the cheeses was considered. It appeared that a group of friends and relatives had gathered at the Widow Taylor's house where, after consuming a quantity of rum, they decided to go to Jabez Grippen's house for some cheese. According to the testimony of one John Hoff, a number of the group, six of them, four women and two men, knocked on Mr. Grippen's door shortly after midnight. All the family being in bed, Grippen inquired who was there, and John McKenzie replied that it was "a friend from New Concord who had been in the woods all day hunting after Tories." When Grippen opened the door the whole party entered, presenting a somewhat ludicrous appearance; all had their faces blacked, three of the women wore trousers with blankets over their shoulders and the fourth a pair of breeches and a blue coat. Each carried a loaded gun. Among them they made off with twelve cheeses, a man's shirt, a boy's shirt, three linen clouts, and two linen towels, and "carried the whole Booty to Widow Taylor's, and concealed it under a heap of Wood." The case dragged on for nearly a year; finally the Supreme Court of New York found that the group "feloniously and Burglariously did break and enter" Jabez Grippen's house and "feloniously and Burglariously then and there did Steal take & carry away against the peace of the people of this State . . ." the

articles listed.⁴⁶ In retrospect the Taylor affair seems more of a prank than was most of the violence and vandalism rampant in the area. On 28 August the Committee for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies offered a reward of £40 to any one reporting to the field officers of King's District of Kinderhook the names of the perpetrators of the "Robberies Committed at the houses of Mess^{rs} Abraham Van Alstyne & John Van Ness, also of the murder committed at the House of the latter" . . .⁴⁷

Meanwhile General Burgoyne, not too many miles away, was preparing to launch the great offensive which would clear his way to Albany; he had advanced from Fort Edward seven miles down the east bank of the Hudson to Fort Miller, where he remained until 13 September, held up by a lack of supplies and increasing American opposition. The Americans, still at the mouth of the Mohawk, had a new commander; Schuyler, blamed for Burgoyne's successes and heartily disliked by the New Englanders, had been replaced by General Horatio Gates. Lieutenant Colonel Barry St. Leger, in the meantime, with a force of British regulars, Loyalists, Canadians, and Indians was pushing up the Mohawk from Oswego to meet Burgoyne at Albany. After a bloody encounter at Oriskany on 6 August, St. Leger moved on to Fort Stanwix (Fort Schuyler), which, he

⁴⁶ Paltsits, Minutes of the Committee for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies, 1: 367-373; Albany County Sessions of the Supreme Court, July 1778.

⁴⁷ Paltsits, Minutes of the Committee for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies, 1: 372-373.

proceeded to besiege on the twenty-second. Benedict Arnold, sent to relieve the Fort, succeeded by a clever ruse in inducing St. Leger's Indians to desert. As a result the siege was abandoned and the army retreated helter-skelter. St. Leger tried to lead his remaining troops to the aid of Burgoyne but, since he was forced to travel by way of Montreal, he was unable to reach the General in time.⁴⁸

Winter was approaching. Burgoyne could not afford to remain longer at Fort Miller; since it appeared he was to have no help, with St. Leger repulsed and Howe on his way to Philadelphia, he felt he must push on. On 13 and 14 September he moved his army across the Hudson to be on the same side of the river as Albany, his objective. Gates, in the meantime, had moved his force to Bemis Heights, a wooded expanse on the bank of the Hudson of irregular bluffs and steep ravines, better suited to the American mode of fighting than the flat plain at the mouth of the Mohawk. On 19 September Burgoyne marched towards Bemis Heights but was checked at Freeman's Farm with considerable loss on both sides. Rather than resume his offensive immediately, Burgoyne decided to allow his men, fatigued from their encounter, to rest for a few days. He had received intelligence that Clinton was about to lead a force of 3,000 men up the Hudson in the hope

⁴⁸See Ward, The War of the Revolution, "Stanwix and Oriskany," Chapter 38, 2: 477-491.

of creating a diversion, which might induce Gates to dispatch part of his army to defend the southern approach to Albany.

Burgoyne's situation was deteriorating rapidly. His food stores were so low that he had to put his men on half rations; he received no good news of Clinton's approach; winter was just around the corner; his officers, Von Riedesel and Fraser urged him to retreat. But Burgoyne feared ignominy more than defeat and on 7 October he again marched out to Freeman's Farm, to catastrophe. Suffering 700 casualties to the Americans' 150, he retreated slowly and took his stand again in open country near Saratoga. Clinton was still far away, and there seemed no hope. Burgoyne held a council of war and decided to flee to the north, but it was too late. He was surrounded by Gates' troops, and on 17 October 1777 his men laid down their arms. At last "Gentleman Johnny" Burgoyne succeeded in reaching Albany--as a prisoner.⁴⁹

It was about the time of Burgoyne's surrender that Benjamin Ingraham, senior returned home. He must have found the Loyalists of King's District in at least a mild state of shock. The impossible, the unthinkable had happened--the great General Burgoyne with his invincible British army on its way to Albany to liberate the Loyalists had actually surrendered to the Rebels. This fact was further impressed in their minds when the defeated army marched through Kinderhook on their way, so they supposed, to Boston. The soldiers

⁴⁹ Ibid., 2: 504-542.

camped on the plains near the village while Burgoyne, the British and German officers, and their American escorts were entertained at the Loyalist David Van Schaack's house, which is still standing.⁵⁰ An amusing anecdote is told of Van Schaack's four-year-old niece, Lydia, at the dinner table.

Near the end of the meal the little girl, thinking it her turn to propose a toast, suddenly stood up and exclaimed, "God save the King and all the Royal Family." No doubt her uncle was somewhat embarrassed before the American officers.⁵¹

Burgoyne's defeat at Saratoga was the turning point of the Revolutionary War. In King's District the Patriots, jubilant and confident, now began to gain the upper hand. Many of those who had been hitherto uncertain joined the ranks of what appeared to be the winning side; some of the Tories even moved over to the American cause. Benjamin Ingraham, senior returned to New Concord a Patriot--presumably he had had enough of persecution. Apparently, he felt that taking the oath of allegiance to the State was not enough--he must find a more concrete way to demonstrate his loyalty to the American cause. He was the father of two soldiers in the Loyalist army, a fact which might contribute to the suspicions

⁵⁰ Van Schaack, Memoirs of the Life of Henry Van Schaack, p. 75.

⁵¹ Ruth Piwonka and Roderic H. Blackburn, A Visible Heritage, Columbia County, New York: A History in Art and Architecture (Kinderhook, N.Y.: The Columbia County Historical Society, 1977), p. 54. A picture of the house is found on p. 53.

of his former enemies regarding his sincerity. The only avenue open to him was enlistment in the militia which was ever in want of recruits. As John Shy wrote, "... enrolment in the militia could be a test of loyalty to one side or the other, and it could be a kind of insurance--the readiest form of personal security in a precarious world."⁵² Consequently, Benjamin Ingraham, senior enlisted in the Seventeenth Regiment, as did, or had, his sons Samuel and John. The names of all three appear in the list of men in that regiment who acquired land bounty rights.⁵³ The sons very likely fought or at least rendered some actual military service; it seems doubtful if the father, sixty-three years old and unwell, was active himself in the unit. There are, however, cases on record of older men of Loyalist leaning being forced to participate in military service merely to prove their fidelity. The case of Edward Winslow, senior furnishes an example. Winslow, well into his sixties, was called upon "to turn out as a common soldier, hire a man in his room, or go to gaol."⁵⁴ Service in the militia in New York was mandatory for men between the ages of sixteen and fifty at the beginning of the Revolution, but as the war escalated and manpower needs

⁵² Shy, A People Numerous and Armed, p. 218.

⁵³ James A. Roberts, New York in the Revolution as Colony and State (Albany: Press of Brandow Company, 1898), p. 238.

⁵⁴ Charles W. Rife, "Edward Winslow: Loyalist Pioneer in the Maritimes," Canadian Historical Association, Report of the Annual Meeting, 1928, p. 103.

increased, the age was raised to sixty; there was no regulation to prevent an older man from enlisting voluntarily.⁵⁵

An able-bodied militia man must serve in person; if incapacitated, he was required to secure a replacement.

It was possible to be eligible for land bounty rights without actually rendering any military service. In 1780 each and every militia regiment was divided into "classes" containing thirty-five men each. When soldiers were required for active duty, each "class" was expected to provide one man, and, if it did so, was entitled to a money bounty. As the war progressed and the needs of the army increased, land rights were added to the money bounty. In accordance with the Act of 23 March 1782, any "class" or any person who furnished an able-bodied man to serve for three years or until the end of the war could claim 600 acres or 350 acres for a two-year enlistment.⁵⁶ In the light of the existing regulations, it seems quite possible that Benjamin Ingraham, senior could have been enrolled in the Seventeenth Regiment and acquired land bounty rights without ever having done any fighting himself, and so could his sons. Aside from this, enrolment in the militia provided him with a safeguard against further persecution.

When Benjamin Ingraham, senior arrived home in October 1777, Benjamin, junior was with the King's American

⁵⁵ Roberts, New York in the Revolution as Colony and State, p. 11.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 12.

Regiment in its futile attempt to ascend the Hudson and give aid to the army of Burgoyne. Whether or not Jerusha heard from him, either directly or indirectly, is not known, but it seems likely that she did. Hannah remarked later that "Mother was four years without hearing of or from father, whether he was alive or dead; any one would be hanged right up if they were caught bringing letters."⁵⁷ No doubt the four years she referred to were those comprising the period of Benjamin's service in the South; it seems almost certain that some news would filter in and out of New Concord, by word of mouth at least, as long as he was in New York. The fact that he attempted to get news to his family is attested by the somewhat bizarre story of Daniel Taylor. Hannah's idea of the penalty for carrying letters to Tories suggests some knowledge on her part of the hapless Taylor's fate.

Daniel Taylor of Kinderhook was a messenger for the British. In October 1777 he was dispatched up the Hudson, with a message from General Sir Henry Clinton to General Burgoyne. A few days later he was captured near New Windsor and taken before Governor George Clinton. The message Taylor carried was enclosed in a small silver ball, oval in shape about the size of a fusee bullet, shut with a screw in the middle. Taylor, brought before the Governor, promptly swallowed the ball. Clinton just as promptly administered a strong emetic, "calculated to work either way." The emetic had the desired

⁵⁷Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

effect, but Taylor, "though closely watched, had the art to conceal it a second time." Clinton led Taylor to believe that he knew the contents of the message, having forced a confession from another spy on the same mission; he then "demanded the ball on the pain of being hung up instantly and cut open to search for it. This brought it forth." Taylor was tried by court-martial and found guilty. On 18 October 1777, the day after Burgoyne's surrender, he was hanged on the limb of an apple tree.⁵⁸

On Daniel Taylor's person were found several letters he was carrying to the families of friends from New Concord. One was written by Josiah Woodward of the King's American Regiment; in it he remarked that his friends Benjamin and Abijah were well and wished to be remembered to their families.⁵⁹ Another was written by Benjamin himself.

Kings Bridge July 31st 1777

Mr. Daniel Taler. Sir, these are to Let you know I am well & all that Came from Kinderhook exsept Ser't Powers & your Brother John & Joseph Potter are Something Poorly but are able to walk. I have Nothing Strange to wright, Sir, I Desire you would take the trobel to wright to me and Let me know the State of affairs in our Naberhood of our famalyes and frinds that Came from Kinderhook, for I hear you are going to take a Joarnay to the Northard once more and if you arrive to Kinderhook, we all Desire you to Let our families know how we all are. Sir Be So Cind as to wright to Som frind in our Nabourhood that they may have Sertain Inteligence. I would have wrote to my wife but I thought you would Not chuse to cary a Leter. Remember me to all Enquiring frinds. So I

⁵⁸Clinton, The Clinton Papers, 6: 413, 444.

⁵⁹Ibid., 6: 400.

Remain your frind till Death.

Benj. Ingraham⁶⁰

Poor Taylor got no messages through to New Concord, but more than likely Jerusha and the other soldiers' wives heard the dismal news by way of the Loyalist grape vine, whether or not they received any actual message concerning their husbands. There were undoubtedly other notes and bits and pieces of information which did get through as long as the King's American Regiment remained in New York.

It must have been a lonely and precarious existence that Jerusha faced daily. Not the least frightening and discouraging was 18 February 1778 when she saw the accumulation of her and Benjamin's life time sold by the Committee at public auction. On the same day the house and farm were confiscated and she began to pay rent on what she must have considered was rightfully hers.⁶¹ Presumably, however, she became more or less inured to hardship, threat, and indignity. Some of the more vicious and less responsible supporters of the American cause would fire shots at a tree, with Jerusha and the children watching, and call out that they wished that tree was Ben Ingraham.⁶²

Jerusha Ingraham suffered, but she was not unique. Violence, robbery, and rapine continued unchecked in King's

⁶⁰ Ibid., 6: 401-402.

⁶¹ Claims of the American Loyalists, p. 27, vol. 26, Series 1, MG14, A012, PAC.

⁶² Nichols, "Family Record by Benjamin Ingraham (1748-1810)," National Genealogical Society Quarterly 25 (1937): 61.

District. Neither Tory nor Rebel was safe. The defenceless ventured abroad as seldom as possible; it was scarcely safe to stay at home. Loyalists were snubbed by Patriot neighbours and taunted by Patriot's children. Vindictive revolutionaries fired shots and threw stones and hurled insults at the disaffected; they even broke into homes and vandalized them. Tories lurked in the woods by day, attacked militiamen and raided Rebel houses by night. The lawless, identifying with neither side, took advantage of the political instability, roaming the countryside in packs, robbing, vandalizing, and terrorizing. The situation grew so desperate that on 16 June 1778 the inhabitants of King's District petitioned Governor Clinton for permission to raise a company of Rangers for their protection. ". . . circumstances are of so alarming a nature," the petition stated, "that your petitioners conceive that neither their lives nor properties are Safe unless some Speedy remedy is applied to this growing Evil."⁶³

To make life even more difficult, Jerusha Ingraham was no longer able to derive spiritual comfort from attendance at divine service or from the visits of the Reverend Gideon Bostwick. The good parson was confined by the authorities to Great Barrington, his home town.

Trouble had begun for Parson Bostwick in June 1775 on a visit to his church at Lanesborough. On a Sunday evening "immediately after the dissenting meeting was out" a messenger

⁶³ Clinton, The Clinton Papers, 3: 490-491.

came to his lodging to inform him that it was the local Committee's pleasure that, rather than return home on Monday as he had planned to do, he should meet with them on Monday evening. Parson Bostwick, deeming it unwise to incur the Committee's resentment needlessly, complied with the request. At the meeting on Monday evening the Chairman informed him that he was charged with making use at Sunday's service "of the prayers of the Church of England, without omitting the prayers for the King, which they thought no one who was a friend of the country could consistently do." Rather than deny such conduct, Bostwick undertook a justification of it. The debate lasted about two hours, after which the Committee withdrew to another room to consider the case. He feared the worst, but, upon their return, the Chairman merely recommended that in future he omit the prayers for the King. Bostwick categorically refused, stating that he was determined to adhere strictly to the duties of his calling. In the Parson's words

The Chairman replied with great warmth, that if I did, I should do it at my peril, and take the consequences. I replied that I expected it, and what I wanted they should let me know was what the consequences should be. He answered that they should be just what it should be their pleasure to say it should be. Thus the matter rests at present; how it will end God only knows. Such is the equitable discipline of this boasted Asylum of Liberty--first impose a law, then dare you to transgress it, and then affix the penalty.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Rev. Gideon Bostwick to Dr. Richard Hind, 28 June 1775, SPG Documents, No. 138, Vol. 2, Series B, MG17, 1, PAC.

Exactly what happened as a result of this encounter is not known, for Bostwick's correspondence with the SPG ended abruptly at this point, not to be resumed again until 1783. It seems likely that he continued to pray for the King until he was forcibly prevented from doing so or from holding services at all. "I will not trouble the Society," he wrote in a letter in January 1784, "with a circumstantial account of the grievous suffering I have endured for my Loyalty during the unhappy Contest--Suffice it to say that few who continued in the Country has had a larger share of Affliction than myself."⁶⁵ For three years he was not permitted to visit any of his parishes other than Great Barrington, and, even there, he had to close up the church for about eight months.⁶⁶

In May 1779 the ban was lifted, and he began to officiate again. Whether or not he finally agreed to drop from his service the prayers for the King he did not say. Naturally the prayers would be dropped in 1783 if not before; perhaps he discontinued them as soon as he realized that the King's cause was lost. "But since May 1779," he wrote, "I have officiated steadily at my several Parishes, without any molestation; and am happy to find that many Prejudices have so far subsided for two years past that I have been treated

⁶⁵ Bostwick to SPG Secretary, 12 January 1784, SPC Documents, No. 101, AM5, Series C, MG17, 1, PAC.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

with great respect by people of all denominations."⁶⁷ The "prejudices" probably began to subside after Yorktown.

Jerusha then had her pastor to comfort her, and perhaps even aid in her defence, when the final blow to her fortunes was struck by the officials in November 1780. A law had been passed by the State Legislature authorizing the banishment to another state or to the territory controlled by the British of the families of "persons who have joined the enemy." In accordance with the act, Justice of the Peace John Beebe issued a warning to Jerusha Ingraham, Mary McCarty, Lucretia Woodward, and Abigail Woodward "to depart this State or to remove to such parts of it as are in the power of the Enemy." Jerusha was unwilling to concede to this order without putting up a struggle; her home was in New Concord, all her friends and relatives were there, and she had nowhere to go. Accordingly, a few days later she and Lucretia Woodward, wife of Corporal David Woodward of the King's American Regiment, appeared before the Committee and requested permission to remain at their present habitations. Both were armed with "certificates from sundry of the well affected Inhabitants of this County of their good Character and that their remaining in the Country will not be detrimental to the Freedom & independence of this & the United States." Both were granted a permit to remain.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Paltsits, Minutes of the Committee for Detecting and Defeating Conspiracies, 1: 540.

While Jerusha was engaged in altercations with the local authorities over her place of domicile, Benjamin was making his way south, soon to arrive in Charleston, South Carolina. Jerusha had no idea where he was, indeed whether he was still alive. Life went on. She and Hannah and John remained on the farm. With some help from friends and relatives and increasing aid from the children as they grew older she managed to eke out a living and to find the money to pay the rent. As the War progressed and the success of the American cause became more and more assured, the activities of the Loyalists declined as did their numbers, and persecution dwindled as well. The Loyalists no longer seemed much of a threat. Jerusha no doubt wondered at times if Benjamin would ever return, perhaps considering what she would do if he did not. Presumably she kept his memory alive in the children. Other than that there was little else she could do but work and wait.

"Oh! they were terrible times!" Hannah Ingraham, recalling the war years, remarked in her reminiscences.⁶⁹ Her mother would likely have agreed. In the first place, Jerusha Ingraham was left to operate the farm and to care and provide for the children by herself, an undertaking which to her must have appeared almost formidable. In an agrarian society with a chronic manpower shortage she could expect but

⁶⁹ Tippet, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

little help, the situation being even worse than usual with so many men in military service; the result was that she had to fend for herself with occasional assistance from her relatives and, of course, an ever increasing amount from Hannah and John as they grew older and stronger. The aid she received from relatives and friends tended to be offset by the problems created by her foes like the seizure and sale of all her moveable property and the confiscation of her house and farm and the added burden of paying rent on them. She must have found it difficult indeed to provide the food, clothing, and fuel required to keep body and soul together.

Most of the time she was more than likely lonely and anxious and even frightened. She did not see Benjamin for seven years, did not even hear from him for four, and at times must have wondered if she would ever see him again. However, she was reminded of him continually, for, whether or not she had any political convictions of her own, she was assumed to share those of her husband; since he was beyond the reach of his enemies, Jerusha made a convenient scapegoat upon whom to visit their wrath and indignation. Consequently, she suffered threats, insults, and indignities from the more rabid revolutionaries and even came close to being banished from New Concord. Life must have been a constant dread for this defenceless woman, dread of reprisals from her Rebel neighbours or of rape and rapine from the hordes of lawless hoodlums roaming the countryside, breaking into homes and attacking those who went unprotected abroad. To say the least, it must have

been disquieting, at times even alarming, to live under conditions in which "even the humblest person, the person most indifferent to politics, can never tell when the lightning is going to strike. . . ." ⁷⁰

Jerusha Ingraham's experience in King's District during the Revolutionary War was not exactly idyllic and serene, but how it compared with that of other Loyalists' wives is difficult to determine. The only incidents on record of her life during these years are those recounted in the foregoing pages, but stories of others subjected to profound suffering, deprivation, and degradation appear in the annals of the American Revolution. The misfortune of the family of Filer Dibblee on Long Island is one case in point. Dibblee's wife and five children were turned "naked into the Streets" after the Rebels had plundered their house and stolen the very clothes off their backs. Mary Donnelly, the wife of a sailor on a privateer, received "as [her] youngest Child lay expiring in [her] Arms an account of the Vessel being lost in a Storm," leaving her and her family destitute. And Phebe Ward of East Chester, New York wrote to her husband, "I have suffered most Every thing but death it self in your long absens pray Grant me speedy Releaf as God only knows what will be come of me and my frendsles Children." ⁷¹

⁷⁰ Crane Brinton, The Anatomy of Revolution, revised ed. (New York, Vintage Books, 1965), p. 180.

⁷¹ Brown, The Good Americans, pp. 139-142.

Jerusha Ingraham seems never to have been in quite such desperate straits as these unfortunate Loyalist ladies. In the first place, she was never destitute; having been allowed to remain in her house and on her farm, she was provided with shelter and the means of warding off hunger through perseverance and hard work. Secondly, she was neither friendless nor abandoned in a completely strange and hostile environment. Her house, her land, her surroundings were all familiar and thus easier to cope with. Her own family, the Barretts, her brothers, sisters, mother, and perhaps her father were near by; so were some of the members of Benjamin's family, brothers, sisters, and father (his mother had died in 1770). There were friends, too; thus Jerusha had people to whom she could turn for comfort and assistance. Although she was badly treated by some of the more fanatical and vicious Patriots and suffered reprisals from officials, there is no record of any actual physical molestation. In addition, many inhabitants of King's District adhered to the American cause out of prudence rather than conviction and were kindly disposed towards moderate people on either side. Some of the credit must go to Jerusha herself--she appears to have been a courageous and resourceful woman, resolved to make the best of a bad situation, with the good sense to keep a low profile, to keep quiet about political affairs, and to avoid needless confrontation. However, her experience during the War was bad enough, but worse was to come in 1783 with the expulsion of the Loyalists.

CHAPTER V

BENJAMIN INGRAHAM: REFUGEE

"There was no Red Terror in 1783," John Shy commented in A People Numerous and Armed. He was comparing the "terror" phase of the American with those of the French and the Russian Revolutions.¹ It is true that the persecution visited upon the Loyalists in no way approximated the murder and violence in France and Russia after the extremists seized power. American violence against the opponents of the Revolution, tarring and feathering, riding on a rail, mobbing, looting, occasional hanging, never reached the proportions of the regime of the rolling heads at the guillotines of France or the bloody, bullet-riddled bodies before the firing squads of Russia. But to say there was no terror in the American Revolution would be to distort the facts. Crane Brinton's somewhat restrained view that "there was more than a touch of terror and virtue . . . in our revered revolution" seems closer to the truth.²

Had there been no terror, no persecution, no

¹Shy, A People Numerous and Armed, p. 184.

²Brinton, The Anatomy of Revolution, p. 176.

confiscation of property in the United States in 1783, there would have been a much smaller exodus of Loyalists, and the course of history on both sides of the Forty-ninth Parallel might have taken a somewhat different turn. It seems quite probable that the number of Loyalists who fled their homes because they had to far exceeded that of those who "left because of their principles"; the key-stone of motivation is often buried in the rubble of rationalization. Many of the Loyalists stayed and managed somehow to re-integrate themselves into the society of the new republic; others returned after a few years. Nevertheless, thousands of refugees fled, to Britain, to Florida, to the West Indies, to Quebec, to Nova Scotia.

In the course of the peace negotiations the British representatives tried to negotiate the re-instatement of the Loyalists, but the American delegates could or would make no promises--it was a matter of state jurisdiction, they said, and they would make the recommendation to the state legislatures. In spite of any pleas the Congress may have made, eight of the thirteen states formally banished particular listed Loyalists, and as well these states, along with the other five, resorted to informal means of persuasion to expel the hated Tories. "Instead of moderating the fury of the revolutionaries against the Loyalists," Stewart MacNutt wrote, "the news of peace increased it. Proscriptions, confiscations, and persecutions redoubled when it was generally understood that the state governments were under no obligation to restore

the privileges of citizenship to the Loyalists The obsession for hunting Tories reached new extremities."³ Consequently, the stream of Loyalist refugees swelled to great proportions in 1783, to a total of between 80,000 and 100,000. Of these, approximately 35,000 settled in Nova Scotia and from 6,000 to 7,000 in Quebec.⁴

Much has been made by earlier generations of Canadian writers of the intense sufferings of the first of the "displaced persons" to arrive in what later became Canada--so much that there has developed in the country what is known as the "Loyalist myth." The "Loyalist myth" in New Brunswick seems to have had its birth with the publication in 1825 of Peter Fisher's Sketches of New Brunswick, the first history of the province, and continued to develop until the outbreak of World War I in 1914. The main recurring themes in the "myth" are loyalty to the King and the principles of constitutional government, unity of Empire, anti-Americanism, Loyalist elitism, suffering and sacrifice for their principles, and the struggle against nature. While in Upper Canada the Loyalists fought against the Americans in the War of 1812 and suffered minor depredations of their territory in the years that followed, New Brunswick experienced little border hostility with neighbouring Maine. On the contrary, the province traded with

³MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 20.

⁴These are Wallace Brown's figures, probably as close to the actual mark as can be found. See Brown, The Good Americans, p. 192.

coastal New England and directed their fighting energy to the struggle against the hostility of nature, the rugged land, the huge forests, the wild animals with which the province abounded.⁵ New Brunswick folk lore is filled with accounts of freezing in the winter, flooding in the spring, struggling with bears and bob-cats at all seasons. Occupying a very important place in the Loyalist annals are tales of the severe privation suffered by the refugees during their first winter in the province.

Benjamin Ingraham's experience could easily be accommodated to certain aspects of the "myth"--he arrived in central New Brunswick at precisely the right time of the year to ensure spending the winter of 1783-1784 suffering nobly for his principles. There is no question that he and his family encountered almost insurmountable difficulties after pitching their army-issue tent in October on the banks of the St. John. Benjamin himself would never have denied it. But he must have wondered at times, as his axe rang out in the frosty stillness, how it all had come about, how he had become involved, in Crane Brinton's words, in "the tragicomedy of thousands of little lives invaded by heroic concerns which are ordinarily not theirs at all."⁶

⁵ See Murray Barkley, "The Loyalist Tradition in New Brunswick: The Growth and Evolution of an Historical Myth, 1825-1914," Acadiensis 4 (Spring, 1975): 3-45; Jo-Ann Fellows, "The Loyalist Myth in Canada," Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers (1971): 94-111.

⁶ Brinton, The Anatomy of Revolution, p. 177.

It was late summer when Benjamin Ingraham arrived in New Concord.⁷ His family were expecting him; a neighbour had received a letter from her husband with one tucked inside from Benjamin to Jerusha.⁸ Undoubtedly eleven-year-old Hannah and ten-year-old John were excited, even though they scarcely remembered their father after an absence of seven years. Any impressions they had of him were formed from stories and anecdotes heard from their mother and other relatives, with perhaps a few less complimentary references from the children of the local Patriots. The letter, containing the first news they had had of him since before he sailed to the South, gave them a little time to prepare for the homecoming.

Benjamin and Jerusha and the children had little time to celebrate their reunion. They were to leave New Concord and go to Nova Scotia, Benjamin told them, and they must make haste. They began their preparations immediately. They butchered the cow and sold the beef. A friendly neighbour "took home the tallow and made . . . a good parcel of candles and put plenty of beeswax in to make them hard and good." "Uncle came down," Hannah recalled, "and threshed our wheat,

⁷Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story." In her reminiscences Hannah said that her father came home on Friday, September 13. This cannot be correct since the 13th of September fell on Saturday in 1783. To reconcile the various dates and periods of time quoted in sundry reports and reminiscences has proved impossible. The best one can do under the circumstances is to make an estimate.

⁸Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

twenty bushels, and grandmother came and made bags for the wheat, and we packed up a tub of butter, a tub of pickles, and a good store of potatoes."⁹ And that was not all. There were also the bedding, the clothing, the tools and implements, and the household effects--all that had been left to Jerusha by the Committee along with what she had accumulated since the confiscation.

There was more than one reason for haste. In the first place, Sir Guy Carleton, who had been placed in charge of the evacuation of New York, soon found his task "a measure of great difficulty and extent."¹⁰ The actual number of refugees so far exceeded the number anticipated that the quantity of available shipping proved quite inadequate. Not only did Carleton have the problem of fleeing Loyalists but he also had to provide transportation back to Europe for the British and German troops.¹¹ The German mercenaries, now unemployed but still drawing pay and rations, were costing the King considerable money. Charleston had had to be evacuated and troops dispatched to the West Indies in case of an attack

⁹Ibid. The grandmother referred to here is Grandmother Barrett, Grandmother Ingraham having died in 1770. Uncle was undoubtedly Joshua Barrett, Jerusha's brother, who was married to Benjamin's sister Hannah.

¹⁰Carleton to Lord North, 1 June 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 41, No. 7868, PAC; Carleton to Parr, 22 August 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 49, No. 8783, PAC.

¹¹Carleton to North, 1 June 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 41, No. 7868, PAC.

by the French or the Spanish.¹² In addition to pressure from the Government in Britain, Sir Guy continued to receive messages from General Washington and Congress urging him to speed up the evacuation.¹³ While it was relatively simple to estimate the number of provincial soldiers and their dependents bound for Nova Scotia, whose destiny had been decided by 9 June and the news of which had reached New York in August, to make a reliable forecast of the throngs of Loyalist refugees seeking asylum in that province was a problem of far greater magnitude.¹⁴ The Spring and Summer Fleets carried almost exclusively refugees, totalling somewhere in the vicinity of 5,000 men, women, and children.¹⁵ But as the storm of rage and violence against the Loyalists intensified, the volume of the stream of refugees increased. Advertisements were inserted in New York newspapers in August informing prospective emigrés that they must register at the Adjutant General's Office before the twenty-first of the month and be ready to embark on the thirty-first.¹⁶ By that date

¹² MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 21.

¹³ Jared Sparks, ed., The Writings of George Washington, 12 volumes (Boston: J. B. Russell Co., 1834-1837), 8: 415-500.

¹⁴ Richard Bulkley to Major Barclay, 1 August 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 51, No. 8611, PAC.

¹⁵ See Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, pp. 68-84; William Odber Raymond, The River St. John (Sackville, N.B.: The Tribune Press, 1943), pp. 248-259.

¹⁶ Raymond, The River St. John, p. 261.

there were 6,000 names. In September another notice appeared, stating that all who wished to go at public expense must embark on or before 20 September.¹⁷ In view of the multitudes who signed their names, logistics dictated that all available ships must be employed at maximum efficiency and never be permitted to lie idle in the harbour awaiting the whims and conveniences of particular individuals. Consequently, when Benjamin Ingraham was dispatched up river to fetch his family, it was understood that he would not tarry.

Secondly, there was the temper of the American people to contend with. In the whole new nation in general, and in New York in particular, the vengeance and vindictiveness of the people knew no bounds. Carleton wrote to Lord North in June: "The violence of interested men in the new States, more particularly in that of New York, and of their popular assemblies, has driven so many Loyalists to the necessity of seeking new habitations from considerations of personal safety, that the quantity of tonnage is wholly inadequate to the various demands for it."¹⁸ And in another letter to Lord North, Carleton wrote: "The Refugees are very numerous owing to the fears which very reasonably prevail amongst them of the hostile laws of these states as yet unrepealed, of the violence of the people, of the inertia of the Government,

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Carleton to North, 1 June 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 14, No. 7868, PAC.

and of their inability, if they were so disposed; to protect them. . . .¹⁹

Carleton's office was flooded with letters and memorials from Loyalists, complaining of the vindictive excesses of the Patriot neighbours. Oliver De Lancey wrote of the vicious brutality of the gang led by one Israel Honeywell of Westchester. About fifty of them had entered De Lancey's house, armed with swords, pistols, and clubs. They struck him with a cudgel and told him "to run to Halifax, or to his damned King, for that neither he nor his breed should be suffered to remain in the country." The only way De Lancey could persuade his tormentors to desist from beating him was to pay them money.²⁰ Honeywell's gang attacked as well one John Fowler, also of Westchester, beat him with clubs and knocked him down. Fowler made his escape, only to be pursued, caught, knocked down again, and beaten until he appeared dead, upon which the ruffians went into his house and "stole one hundred Guineas, a pair of plated spurs and sundry other articles, broke some of the deponent's furniture and several Panes of his windows and searched the whole house for money." They called Fowler "a damned Tory and declared he should not stay in the Country, and if he and his Family did not immediately quit the said house they would return and burn it."²¹

¹⁹ Same to Same, 17 June 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 21, No. 8054, PAC.

²⁰ Oliver De Lancey to Carleton, 20 May 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 40, No. 7727, PAC.

²¹ Ibid.

Terrorism was not restricted to Honeywell's gang and Westchester. John Mitchell of Long Island wrote that a gang had broken into his house in the dead of night, attacked him and his son with pistols, knocked them down and beaten them, but they had escaped through a back door and ran to a neighbour's house for help. When they returned they found the memorialist's seventeen-year-old grandson lying on the ground about six feet from the door with two musket balls through his body. The murderers were gone. Young Mitchell died while being carried into the house.²²

Accounts such as these were commonplace. Rivington's Gazette and other New York newspapers abounded with them. The victorious Patriots had become obsessed with hunting Tories, and no politician dared support the enactment of any deterrent measure, had there been another with sufficient temerity even to propose one. Theft, property damage, and physical abuse were daily occurrences. Even where no violence was encountered, there were demonstrations of hostility on the part of neighbours and former friends. The fate of those Loyalists whose convictions had spurred them into action on the King's behalf, and particularly those who had served with the Provincial Forces, had been among other things the confiscation of their land and property. That was in the past, but once again the danger of physical violence loomed large.

²²William Waddell to Carleton, 21 May 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 40, No. 7740, PAC.

Nor was the persecution of the hated Tories confined to neighbours and private citizens; officialdom was no less vehement in their legislation and action against them. In the peace negotiations the British had failed to secure any concessions for their American supporters. Decisions regarding the fate of the Loyalists were left to State governments, and they in turn often allowed local institutions to deal with situations as they saw fit. Harsh resolutions were discussed and adopted by local citizens' groups all over the new country and particularly in regions where the Loyalists had been numerous and troublesome. The resolution adopted on 6 May 1783 by the inhabitants of Saratoga is an example.

As Hannibal swore never to be at Peace with the Romans, so let every Whig swear--by the abhorrence of Slavery--by the liberty and religion--by the Shades of those departed Friends who have fallen in battle--by the ghosts of those our Brethren who have been destroyed on board of Prison-ships and in loathsome dungeons--by everything that a freeman holds dear--never to be at peace with those fiends the Refugees, whose thefts, murders, and treasons, have filled the cup of woe; but shew the world we prefer War, with all its dreadful calamities, to giving those self destroyers of the human species a residence among us. --We have crimsoned the earth with our blood, to purchase peace, therefore are determined to enjoy harmony uninterrupted by the Contaminating breath of a Tory.

This melodramatic and hate-filled preamble offered little hope for the Saratoga Loyalists. The document went on to describe how the Loyalists, "these diabolical miscreants became the voluntary instruments of those barbarous Massacres in which neither age, or sex, or conditions were spared, and in which the horrid spectacle was exhibited of harmless infants expiring on the mangled bodies of their butchered

Parents." Such "wretches so disgraced with infamy and Crimes", were to be treated with the severity due to their crimes and forbidden to return to the neighbourhood. The militia officers were to search any who had stolen their way back and to see that "effectual measures be taken for their expulsion." Finally, it was agreed to "hold in contempt every inhabitant of this District, who shall countenance, comfort, aid, or abet, any person who has voluntarily join'd the Enemy, or attempted to do so."²³ The sentiments of the Saratoga residents were duplicated in hundreds of communities in the new states and especially in New York.

Benjamin Ingraham could not have spent the last eight months in New York and Long Island without being exposed to such pronouncements as well as the current atrocity stories which circulated in the newspapers and bulletins, in the streets, taverns, and barracks. He could not but be aware at this moment of the dangers lurking in the shadows. He was home, but he was not, he realized, entirely among friends. Already, long ago, his land, his stock, his crops had been seized by the local Committee, and an attempt had been made to drive his wife and children out of the state. His enemies, he must have felt, were at the very moment plotting he knew not what evil against him. To escape without some sort of reprisal would be more than he could reasonably expect. He

²³ Haldimand Transcripts, MG21, B103, pp. 183-184, PAC, quoted in Mathews, The Mark of Honour, Appendix D, p. 178, under the title "Extract from an Albany Newspaper, May 26, 1783."

and his family must hurry.

His fears were soon realized; they were not to escape the ire of their Patriot neighbours. ". . . one Tuesday," Hannah reminisced, "suddenly the house was surrounded by the rebels and father took prisoner and carried away."²⁴ Joshua Barrett, Benjamin's brother-in-law, remonstrated with the captors. He would be responsible for Benjamin's appearance before them the next morning, he promised. But he might as well have saved his breath. They carried Benjamin away and locked him up in the local gaol. The family was distraught. What would the Committee do with Benjamin? When would they release him, if ever? Would they keep him long enough to make them late for the departure of the fleet for Nova Scotia? No one knew. Hannah cried all night.²⁵

What transpired with Benjamin Ingraham that night in the King's District Gaol the records do not reveal. One wonders if the episode were merely another outburst of patriotic fervour on the part of John Salisbury, the Ingrahams' neighbour and Patriot par excellence. Or perhaps it was an exercise designed to demonstrate to Benjamin that his presence was undesirable to the people of the community. In any case, whatever threats and promises were made, whoever may have intervened, Benjamin was released and came home again the

²⁴Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

²⁵Ibid.

the next day.²⁶

Unnerved by this show of hostility and the resulting loss of precious time, the frantic family hastened to complete their preparations. At last they were ready to go. Everything they owned likely to be of use they took with them. There were chests and trunks of clothing, bedding, and linen; there were barrels and casks of provisions, dishes, and small household effects; there were tools, farm implements, and furniture. No restrictions had been placed on the amount of baggage the evacuees were allowed to take. The Superintendent of Exports and Imports had been directed by Sir Guy Carleton "to grant them the Permission for the Shipping of every Article they may find necessary to carry with them."²⁷ Many and varied were the articles deemed essential by the Loyalists. ". . . beds, chairs, boxes of clothing, kitchen utensils, farm implements, horses, cattle, went aboard the transports to occupy every inch of space not reserved for the passengers and crew."²⁸

The Ingrahams' five wagonloads of provisions and household effects, thus assured of transportation to the River St. John, were carried to the Hudson and loaded on the waiting

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷H. Morgann to Mr. Elliott, --March 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 65, No. 7272, PAC.

²⁸Wertenbaker, Father Knickerbocker Rebels, p. 262.

sloop.²⁹ Farewells were said to friends and relatives whom they were never to set eyes on again. The home which they had created only to be forcibly wrested from them was abandoned. The Ingraham family boarded the sloop with mixed emotions of sorrow and relief and slipped down the Hudson.

It is doubtful if they even noticed the appointments of the Albany-New York sloop, whether agreeable or otherwise. A traveler in 1769 wrote that "These Albany sloops contain very convenient Cabins . . . We eat from a regular Table accommodated with Plates, Knives & Forks & enjoy our Tea in the Afternoon."³⁰ Such emoluments were probably not provided for Loyalist refugees in the sloop service between the two cities, re-established in the spring of 1783.³¹ Nor is it likely that the Ingrahams paid much heed to the natural beauties of the valley, the mansions set in the lush estates of the great patroons giving way at last to the high precipices that formed the banks of the river just before it emerged into the harbour. In a few days they reached New York and

²⁹Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story." Hannah said: "We had five wagon loads carried down the Hudson in a sloop, and then we went aboard the transport which was to bring us to St. John." Although I can find no supporting documentation, it seems reasonable to suppose that Carleton supplied the sloop that carried the Ingrahams and others down the Hudson.

³⁰Francis W. Halsey, ed., A Tour of Four Great Rivers, the Hudson, Mohawk, Susquehanna, and Delaware in 1769 being the Journal of Richard Smith, of Burlington, New Jersey (New York: 1906), p. 4, quoted in Mathews, The Mark of Honour, pp. 5-6.

³¹New York Mercury, 16 June 1783.

the Fall Fleet.

The Fall Fleet had been scheduled to sail on 3 September, but it did not get away until the fifteenth.³² The passengers in this convoy were almost all provincial soldiers, to be disbanded in Nova Scotia, and their families.³³ They had to be picked up at their various encampments on Manhattan and Long Island. Married men, in some cases, had to go up country for their families, and they often met with delays of one kind or another. Then the vessels had to meet at the place of rendezvous. At best it was a slow and tedious process, but at last all was ready and the Fleet sailed quietly from Sandy Hook on 15 September.

The Pennsylvania Packet commented on the reasons the Loyalists gave for leaving. "Many of them pretend," the article said, "that it is not fear of ill treatment, after the departure of the army, that urges them to leave the country so much as the conviction that the new republic must sink in a short time under their national debt, and the exorbitant taxes with which they will be loaded."³⁴ A later issue remarked: "Some look smiling, others melancholy, a third class mad; some there are who represent the cold regions of Nova Scotia as a new-created Paradise, others as a country

³² Royal Gazette, 17 September 1783; Stokes, Iconography of Manhattan Island, 5: 1187.

³³ For details as to names of ships, numbers of passengers, regiments, etc. see Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, pp. 85-88.

³⁴ Pennsylvania Packet, 4 September 1783.

unfit for any human being to inhabit. . .³⁵ Whether Benjamin and his family were smiling or melancholy or both, and whatever preconceptions they may have had of distant Nova Scotia, they must have been almost overcome with loneliness and apprehension on that fateful day. Their main reason for leaving was simple--they had no other choice.

They caught their last glimpse of the New York coastline from the deck of the King George. This schooner of 275 tons had on board, besides the crew, 140 men, women, and children from the King's American Regiment and sixteen from the Garrison Battalion.³⁶ While all the passengers were at first strangers to Jerusha and the children, it probably did not take long to become well acquainted with many of them. Crowded as they were five or six families to a cabin, the most intimate details of every person's life soon became common knowledge.³⁷ It was harder for the women and children. Coastal voyages were not new to the men of the King's American Regiment; they had traveled by sea to Rhode Island from

³⁵ Ibid., 23 September 1783.

³⁶ There is no proof that the Ingrahams sailed on the King George. Family tradition says they did and Esther Clark Wright suggests it on p. 88 of The Loyalists of New Brunswick. However, it is possible that they may have been on the William, which also sailed in this convoy, and which also carried passengers from the King's American Regiment--161 of them. There seem to be extant no passenger lists for the Fall Fleet.

³⁷ See Raymond, The River St. John, pp. 256-258, for Sarah Frost's description of her voyage in the Two Sisters in the Spring Fleet.

New York, to Virginia, to Charleston, to Savannah, and back again to New York, not to mention numerous short expeditions in the course of duty to sundry towns and villages along the nearby coast. Furthermore, they were accustomed to roughing it; they were accustomed to exposure to extremes of weather, to the rough and tumble and coarse jests of the campground, to scenes of horror, pain, and death, to an existence almost completely lacking in privacy. But even so, to them as well as to the women and children, the voyage was anything but a pleasure cruise. Subjected to autumn gales, Atlantic fog, biting cold, and turbulent seas from without and cramped quarters, foul air, the groans of the sick and the complaints of the disgruntled from within, they were tossed about relentlessly on the seas for twelve days.³⁸

There was no entertainment to take their minds off their fears and discomforts. Even the food provided nothing in the way of diversion; the prescribed rations were not designed to tempt the palates even of those fortunate enough not to be seasick. Each person over ten years of age received daily one pound of bread and twelve ounces of pork or twenty-one of beef; children under ten got half the allowance. Small issues of butter, oatmeal, and pease provided a little variety.

³⁸For comments on the weather during the voyage see Tippet, "The Hannah Ingraham Story"; MacNutt, The Atlantic Provinces, p. 92; Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, pp. 137-138.

But there was no rum!³⁹

Horrendous as the voyage may have been, there were no deaths aboard the King George and several babies were born. On 27 September most of the Fleet blew into the Bay of Fundy in a severe storm. Some "Frenchmen," according to Hannah, paddled out to the ship and piloted them in.⁴⁰

Not so fortunate were the Esther and the Martha. On 13 October Captain Hewlett reported that the Esther had finally arrived, but the Martha had been wrecked on the rocks off the Seal Islands near the mouth of the Bay of Fundy.⁴¹ In this disaster approximately one hundred men, women, and children of the Maryland Loyalists and De Lancey's 2nd Regiment perished.⁴² An official inquiry was held to look into the alleged unorthodox behaviour of the captain. "His conduct," Sir Guy Carleton wrote to Lord North, "appears to have been so highly blamable that I have directed a regular protest to be made against him by the Officer who commanded on board."⁴³

On the night of the accident, it was reported, the whole crew--too few to man a ship of the size of the Martha--

³⁹Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, p. 94.

⁴⁰Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

⁴¹See below, p. 240.

⁴²See Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, pp. 86-87; Raymond, The River St. John, pp. 267-268.

⁴³Carleton to North, 25 October 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 45, No. 9491, PAC.

were at work rigging and setting up a new mainsail, the old one having "gone to pieces, the night being tempestuous." It seemed as if the Martha should have had some repairs while in dock--she had "set off from New York in a suit of old sails." After the men had finished wrestling with the mainsail, fatigue, or perhaps negligence, "prevented the master from Standing off and on." At four in the morning the vessel struck a rock and ran aground. The Master, declining all advice from the military officers aboard, refused to launch the boats, even after water had partially filled the hold. When at last he did see fit to put the long boat into the water, the mainmast of the schooner snapped in the wind and toppled over, breaking the long boat into pieces. Now only the cutter, already launched by this time, and the jolly boat remained as the last hope of the passengers. But even that faint hope was soon to be daunted. The Master ordered the jolly boat lowered over the side, and, to the amazement of all, leapt into it, rowed out to the cutter, and pushed off for shore. Four of his crew dived in, swam out, and climbed in with him. The jolly boat floated empty, adrift, in full sight but out of reach of the frightened and desperate passengers. Their pitiful entreaties notwithstanding, the Master struck out for shore, where he soon convinced the townspeople that the ship was wrecked, the passengers were drowned, and attempts at rescue were futile. Nevertheless, seventy-five of the passengers were saved by fishing vessels--the

the other hundred drowned.⁴⁴

The passengers from the other vessels disembarked on 30 September and encamped above the Reversing Falls near the Indian House, from which place they were to be "forwarded with all possible expedition to the place of their destination."⁴⁵ They were fortunate to be nearer their destination than they would have been had Carleton chosen to follow the letter of his instructions. Sir Guy had been ordered to disband the provincial regiments in Halifax unless he felt it would be more convenient to do so in New York.⁴⁶ His orders for disbandment, issued on 17 and 18 August, provoked a prompt and angry response from the regiments. Gabriel G. Ludlow, on behalf of the officers, protested to the Commander-in-Chief "that they should be disbanded, after six years service, without any positive subsistence for the officers or a provision for the men equal to that of the American Loyalists in general."

⁴⁴ Augustin Prevost to Carleton, 10 October 1783, in Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, pp. 137-138.

⁴⁵ Hewlett to Carleton, 29 September 1783, in Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, pp. 136-137. W. O. Raymond on p. 228 of The River St. John describes the "Indian house" as follows: In order to cultivate friendly relations with the Indians and to guard against the attempts of the enemy [the Americans during the Revolution] to wean them from their allegiance it was decided to establish an Indian trading house at the place now known as Indiantown. The "Indian House" was built by James Woodman, who was a shipwright by trade. Hazen, Simonds & White not long afterwards cut a road to the Indian house, the course of which was nearly identical with that of the present Main Street.

⁴⁶ North to Carleton, 15 June 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 51, No. 8040, PAC.

He continued

The season was so far advanced that it would be impossible to have their allotments of land pointed out in time to erect a sufficient covering for the winter, and half their provisions would be expended before they could attempt the improvement of their lands. They had neither tools to build with, implements of husbandry, nor the ability to purchase what they needed. His Excellency was requested to continue the pay of the different corps until a decisive answer was received to the application made for half-pay and for permanent rank in America, to grant that the year's provisions would commence from the first of May next, and to furnish such tools and implements as their immediate necessities would require.⁴⁷

There was really not much Carleton could do other than sympathize. He could promise to do everything in his power, he could give them what tools, utensils, and provisions he had at his disposal. But he must follow orders to disband them, though not at Halifax as commanded but at St. John, a location much more convenient to their land grants to which they were to be "forwarded with all possible speed."⁴⁸

However, they were not to get away with the great expedition which Hewlett, the troops' commander, so sanguinely anticipated. They were delayed long enough to see the Fleet sail out of the harbour, bound for New York again. Words could not describe the sense of loneliness which this sight inspired in many of the already heartsick Loyalists. In later years one old lady recalled her despair in a conversation

⁴⁷ Gabriel G. Ludlow to Carleton, 19 August 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 70, No. 8754, PAC.

⁴⁸ Carleton to North, 28 August 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 79, No. 8910, PAC.

with one of her descendants. "I climbed to the top of Chipman's hill," she said, "and watched the sails disappear, and such a lonely feeling came over me that, although I had not shed a tear through all the war, I sat down on the damp moss with my baby in my lap and cried."⁴⁹ Looking back was sad and distressing; looking ahead was frightening and discouraging. Hannah described the next few months as "a sad, sick time."⁵⁰

The arrival of the Fall Fleet intensified the congestion and confusion of an area which as recently as the month of May was little more than a wilderness peopled by a handful of pioneers. There was a small clearing here and there among the rocks and trees. Occasionally there was a log hut with a family living in it; others, once occupied, had been deserted, their owners fleeing the raids of the New England privateers. Fort Howe stood guard high on the rocks at the bend in the river; below, at Portland Point, nestled the establishment of Hazen and White, surrounded by a few tiny dwellings where their employees lived. Otherwise, there was nothing but the sea and the river, the rocks and the forest. The site for the new town was a rugged promontory jutting out into the Bay on the east side of the harbour, its rough ground a wild expanse of cedars and alders, rocky heights and swampy

⁴⁹Quoted in Raymond, The River St. John, p. 154. The lady was Sir Leonard Tilley's grandmother.

⁵⁰Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

hollows. It seemed a most unlikely spot on which to build a city.⁵¹

Here the Spring Fleet, arriving in May, had disgorged throngs of lonely and despairing Loyalists, who proceeded to set up tents and erect rude huts against the climatic rigours of a north Atlantic spring. As an aid from the Government, each man was provided with five hundred feet of boards and an issue of bricks and shingles for use in the construction of his house. Many commenced immediately to build log houses; others dallied and continued to live in temporary shelters, perhaps waiting for a proper survey to be made so that a clear title to their building lot could be obtained. It is impossible to state exactly how many refugees landed at the mouth of the St. John in May 1783, but it seems safe to estimate the number as well in excess of 2,000. To this hurlyburly were added in June 1,500 more, among whom was Sarah Frost who described the town site as "the roughest land I ever saw." The population continued to swell as ships kept on arriving during July and August and set their confused and disorganized passengers ashore in what was by this time known as Parrtown, on the east side of St. John Harbour.⁵²

Stewart MacNutt wrote that "the British Government

⁵¹ See Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, pp. 68-69.

⁵² For accounts of the arrival of the Loyalists at the mouth of the St. John see Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, pp. 68-69; Raymond, The River St. John, pp. 249-272; MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, pp. 16-41.

had produced no grand design for the settlement of Nova Scotia."⁵³ This fact was soon obvious to the Loyalists. The May arrivals at once discovered that no survey had been made of the town site prior to their coming. Consequently, they were forced to squat on land, from which they might at any time be evicted, to erect their first shelters. Later they were projected into bitter controversy with one another over the acquisition of the choicest building lots, particularly those on the water front. In July the King's American Dragoons had started the township of Carleton on the west side of the harbour, only to learn a little later that the lower river) was reserved for civilian refugees and the provincial regiments were to be located above St. Ann's. Many of them had by this time made considerable improvement on their land and were loath to abandon it and move to Prince William, the block allotted to them.⁵⁴

Surveys were away behind schedule, supplies were frequently not forthcoming as promised, quarreling and bickering were rife among the new settlers. Frustration and anxiety were the order of the day. In such a political atmosphere Benjamin Ingraham pitched his Government-issue tent above the Falls among those of the other troops, and the family moved in. They were far from comfortable in the damp chill Fundy

⁵³ MacNutt; New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 20.

⁵⁴ For further information on the King's American Dragoons, see Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, passim; MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, pp. 24-25, 29.

air. Much of the time the fog rolled in off the Bay so thick you could barely distinguish the tent next to yours; occasionally, the mist cleared, and there was frost at night, and it was scarcely above freezing during the day. This was the wettest September and the coldest October on record.⁵⁵ The nights were particularly miserable. "It was just at the first snow then," Hannah recollected, "and the melting snow and rain would soak up into our beds as we lay. Mother got so chilled with rheumatism that she was never very well afterwards."⁵⁶

Benjamin Ingraham, moving about in this strangest of towns, must soon have realized that it was not the place for him and his family. The Fall Fleet had dumped another three thousand or more homeless people into the already teeming hive of human misery. The idea of passing the winter in the soggy tent above the Falls was unthinkable and that of going to the labour and expense of building a log cabin only to abandon it in the spring did not appeal to a thrifty mind. Furthermore, the plan was that the disbanded troops should proceed up the river with all possible haste. Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Hewlett, commanding officer of the 2nd Battalion of De Lancey's Brigade, who had been appointed to command the provincial troops coming to the River St. John, wrote

⁵⁵ MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 92.

⁵⁶ Tippet, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

to Sir Guy Carleton on 29 September that the troops "shall be forwarded with all possible expedition to the place of their destination, but am much afraid that the want of small craft will greatly prevent their dispatch."⁵⁷ Major Augustin Prevost, Deputy Inspector General of Provincial Forces, made a similar comment in a letter to Ward Chipman. "It is impossible to describe to you," he wrote, "the confusion we are in at this place for want of sufficient craft to transport the troops to their destination."⁵⁸

The excuses of Hewlett and Prevost were valid only in part. While it was true that the scarcity of river boats, most of which had to be supplied by Simonds, Hazen & White and other merchants, was a real problem, it was not the only one. The authorities had failed to have the soldiers' land surveyed and ready for occupancy on time. No wonder Edward Winslow, who had been selected in April as one of the agents responsible for securing land grants for the Provincial Corps, was prompted to write to his friend, Ward Chipman:

I saw all those Provincial Regiments (which we so frequently have mustered) landing in this inhospitable climate, in the month of October, without shelter and without knowing where to find a place to reside. The chagrine of the officers was not to me so truly affecting as the poignant grief of the men. Those respectable Serjeants of Robinson's, Ludlow's, Cruger's,

⁵⁷ Carleton to Hewlett, 12 September 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 49, No. 9102, PAC; Hewlett to Carleton, 29 September 1783, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, pp. 136-137.

⁵⁸ Major Prevost to Ward Chipman, 29 September 1783, quoted in W. O. Raymond, "Peter Fisher: The First Historian of New Brunswick," Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society 10 (1919): 55.

Fanning's, &c., (once hospitable yeomen of the country) were addressing me in a language which almost murdered me as I heard it.

"Sir we have served all the War. Your Honor is witness how faithfully. We were promised land, We expected you had obtained it for us,--We like the country, only let us have a spot of our own, and give us such kind of regulations as will hinder bad men from injuring us."⁵⁹

Whether Benjamin Ingraham was among the group of "respectable sergeants" who thus addressed Colonel Winslow is not known. However, there can be little doubt that he at least endorsed the sentiments expressed in the speech. Esther Clark Wright suggested that if Winslow had persevered at his task, instead of rushing off, to Halifax to become the secretary of Brigadier Henry Fox, the new military commander in the colony, things might have been different.⁶⁰ It had been proposed by Winslow and Stephen De Lancey that the land above St. Ann's should be divided into townships each twelve miles square and that the regiments should draw lots for them. In turn each regiment was to divide its grants into lots, to be drawn for by the soldiers who had actually come to the area. When the provincial troops arrived at the mouth of the St. John, the plan had been developed no further. The governor's consent was still required.⁶¹

Months previously, on 14 March to be exact, the Commanding Officers of the Provincial Regiments had presented their memorial requesting provision for their men and their

⁵⁹Winslow to Chipman, 25 May 1784, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 188.

⁶⁰Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, p. 89.

⁶¹Ibid..

families.⁶² Although the Royal Instructions for disbanding the Provincials did not reach New York until August, Sir Guy Carleton had anticipated the decision of the British Government. In April he sent Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Winslow, Lieutenant-Colonel Stephen De Lancey, and Major Thomas Barclay, the nominees of the Provincial Corps, to Nova Scotia to explore the province and find suitable locations for the troops.⁶³ The trio, later joined by Lieutenant-Colonel Isaac Allen, discovered that the area above St. Ann's on the River St. John was the only suitable vacant tract of sufficient magnitude to suit the purpose. Winslow wrote on 23 July from Fort Howe to Ward Chipman, commenting upon his excursion up the St. John. "I yesterday evening arrived at this place," he said, "after the most agreeable tour I ever had in my life. Barclay, Allen, and a number of young Bucks and myself have explored this grand river one hundred and twenty miles from its mouth and we have returned delighted beyond expression."⁶⁴ Winslow went on to Halifax, where excitement over his new position perhaps overshadowed for the time being his enthusiasm for settling the Provincials on the River St. John.

⁶² Memorial of the Officers of the Provincial Regiments to Sir Guy Carleton, 14 March 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 54, No. 10072, PAC; printed copy, MG23, B1, Vol. 42, No. 7127, PAC.

⁶³ Carleton to Parr, 24 April 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 32, No. 7499, PAC.

⁶⁴ Winslow to Chipman, 23 July 1783, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 109.

And now it was October, the Provincials had arrived,⁶⁵ and the grants were not ready. What were the soldiers to do? Where were they to go? Lieutenant-Colonel Hewlett's orders from Sir Guy Carleton had specified that all regiments were to be disbanded by 20 October at the very latest.⁶⁵ Governor Parr had been instructed in a letter dated 22 August that he was to lose no time in allotting the troops the land reserved for them.⁶⁶ Hewlett was able to report on 13 October that the last of the troops had been disbanded by Major Prevost, the Deputy Inspector General of British American Forces. In his letter to Sir Guy, Hewlett went on to say of the soldiers that "they are getting up the river as speedily as possible. The want of small craft is the only delay they have."⁶⁷ This statement was somewhat over-optimistic. The truth of the matter was that most of the disbanded soldiers were less than eager to venture with their families into the depths of an unfamiliar wilderness at the onset of a winter that gave promise of unusual severity. They had been guaranteed land, but that was as far as it went. They had no title, they had not even drawn lots--everything was uncertain. Better, it seemed, to stay precisely where they were, close to friends and

⁶⁵Carleton to Hewlett, 12 September 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 49, No. 9102, PAC.

⁶⁶Carleton to Parr, 22 August 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 49, No. 8783, PAC.

⁶⁷Hewlett to Carleton, 13 October 1783, Raymond. ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 141.

neighbours and the King's Provision Store. And that is what the majority did.

But not Benjamin Ingraham. He received his discharge paper, dated 10 October 1783, and set out almost immediately for St. Ann's.⁶⁸ The Ingrahams accompanied Captain Peter Clements of the King's American Regiment and some others in a schooner, hired most likely by Captain Clements from Captain John Colville, assistant agent of all small craft on the St. John River.⁶⁹

The voyage up river was slow by today's standards; they averaged less than ten miles per day. They were sailing against the current, and the winds were capricious. Occasionally they would make fifteen miles or more in a day; at other times, they sat motionless in a sheltered cove to avoid being carried down stream again by the current. But at least their quarters were comfortable and dry in comparison with the cold and dampness of their tent near the Indian house.

The splendour of the landscape must have caught their imagination and made them thrill with anticipation at the thought that a grant of land such as this would one day soon be theirs. Colonel Winslow had described the St. John valley as "the pleasantest part of this country."⁷⁰ Captain Beamsley

⁶⁸ Benjamin Ingraham's discharge paper is to be found today at the York-Sunbury Historical Society Museum in Fredericton.

⁶⁹ Tippet, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

⁷⁰ Winslow to Chipman, 23 September 1783, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 127.

Glasier, on a reconnaissance trip for the St. John River Society in 1764, had likened the valley to "a park as far as ever your eye can carry you."⁷¹ The river narrowed about a mile above the Indian house and passed through a narrow gorge of high, steep limestone. Then it widened out almost into a lake, reaching broad arms out in several directions. The prospect continued pleasing, with rolling hills interspersed with lush islands and intervalles, continuing thus until after eight days when the excited passengers reached the mouth of the Oromocto.⁷² Here they were forced to disembark since the schooner was unable to get past the shoals in the river. It looked as if they would have to walk the remaining twelve miles.⁷³

However, it was not as bad as it at first appeared. The countryside, on both sides of the river, the townships of Burton and Maugerville, had been settled for two decades by enterprising New Englanders, and there was help to be obtained. Captain Clements succeeded in hiring a rowboat for three shillings a day for three days from one of the inhabitants. Clements sent his family and possessions up the first day,

⁷¹Lillian M. B. Maxwell, The History of Central New Brunswick (Sackville, N.B.: The Tribune Press, 1937), p. 45.

⁷²See Patrick Campbell, Travels in the Interior Parts of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792 (reprint ed., Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1937); Edward Winslow, "Sketches of the River St. John," Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society 5 (1904): 142-162.

⁷³Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

and the rowboat returned in the evening. The Ingrahams were next. Hannah described the trip.

We were ready, goods and all, by sunrise, so we started. There were plenty of single men ready to row us for their passage up, but the man who had let the boat hollared after us (he was riding along the shore on horseback). Bring back that boat, he could get 9s. a day for her, but the men rowed on and did not mind his words, so he went away; you see Capt. Clements had hired the boat for three days and paid for it so we had a right to it, for this was only the second day.⁷⁴

Benjamin was fortunate to be able to provide transportation for his family in this way. Many were forced to complete the last leg of the journey on foot.⁷⁵ Some even had to wait for the freeze-up--Hannah told of one who did.

There was a poor widow with four children, waiting to come, but none of the men had the courage to put her aboard the boat, or even go aboard themselves, though we had a right to the use of it for another day, for it was paid for, and that poor woman had to sleep in a barn till the ice covered the river, and then some of the neighbours took a handsled and hauled her up to St. Ann's, twelve miles. . .⁷⁶

Benjamin Ingraham landed his family and their possessions on the shore, and the boat went back down the river, its owner to renege on the last part of his agreement. The

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵"The Grandmother's Story" in Peter Fisher, Sketches of New Brunswick containing an Account of the First Settlement of the Province, &c. (Saint John: Chubb & Sears, 1825). The grandmother was the author's mother, Mary, the wife of Ludwig, one of the first settlers at St. Ann's. A comparison of Mary Fisher's story with Hannah Ingraham's leads one to believe that they may have traveled from Saint John to Fredericton on the same schooner.

⁷⁶Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

big army tent was pitched again close to the water, and the precious provisions and household effects from far-away New Concord were placed tenderly inside. It was just two months, Hannah recalled, from the day they had left their old home in King's District.

St. Ann's was in the old Sunbury township, which, according to Edward Winslow, "begins at a place called Old Mill Creek, and proceeds about one mile up on a rough rocky without interval; then comes to St. Ann's plain, which is a Spot of Land cleared by the French about 2 miles in extent; it is a piece of high level interval. Behind is a large quantity of Timber for masts for the King's Ships."⁷⁷ When the Loyalists arrived there, the French had already moved away, some to the French Village, six miles up the river, others to the mouth of the Madame Keswick, about the same distance up on the other side.

St. Ann's plain, which became the site of the city of Fredericton, was a flat on a bend in the river, mostly cleared and covered with small second-growth trees and raspberry bushes. Only three houses stood on it. Nearest to the Loyalist settlement was that of Philip Weade, on the approximate site of the present-day cathedral, and occupying the front of a 180-acre farm. At the upper end, near the spot where the Government House was later built, was the establishment of Benjamin Atherton, who had lived there for some twenty years

⁷⁷ Winslow, "Sketches of the River St. John," p. 159.

and operated a store owned by Simonds & White.

The third building was a log cabin belonging to Olivier Thibodeau, just above the house of Philip Weade.

Thibodeau moved to the mouth of the Madame Keswick and sold his land to Weade and his house to Ackerman and Van der Beck.⁷⁸ Mary Fisher told that the Thibodeau cabin was said to contain the bodies of two people murdered in it.⁷⁹ Most likely Hannah and John gave it a wide berth when picking wild raspberries on the plain.

Precisely how Benjamin Ingraham came to settle on his particular piece of land is not known. No grants seem to have as yet been made; all the land above Philip Weade's farm was reserved as the future town site and still awaited the surveyor. Consequently, the fall arrivals pitched their

⁷⁸For more information on eighteenth-century Fredericton, see Raymond, The River St. John; Maxwell, The History of Central New Brunswick; Isabel Louise Hill, Fredericton, New Brunswick, British North America (Fredericton: By the Author, 1968).

Lilian Maxwell wrote: "When the Loyalists came in 1783, they found Oliver Thibodeau living in a house that stood in front of the present 58 Waterloo Row (Fredericton Town Book). He had a log house and 80 acres of land under cultivation under lease from Richard Shorne, one of the Sunbury Township proprietors. . ." (Maxwell, The History of Central New Brunswick, p. 37).

However, the report of their survey on 30 June 1783, made to Major Studholme by Ebenezer Foster, Fyler Dibblee, James White, and Gervise Say mentions only the houses of Atherton and Weade. ("Sunbury Documents," Coll. of N.B. Hist. Soc. 1 (1894): 100-118). Mary Fisher considered the Thibodeau house abandoned and haunted. Hannah Ingraham mentioned only two houses on their arrival--perhaps she did not consider the Thibodeau cabin worthy of the term.

⁷⁹Fisher, "The Grandmother's Story."

tents and built their huts on the unreserved land below, in what was later known as Salamanca. The officers and the men of the disbanded New Jersey Volunteers, who were the first to arrive in St. Ann's, must have worked out among themselves some sort of agreement as to who was to settle where.⁸⁰ Perhaps they drew lots.

The decisions seem to have been made before they started up river; one gets that impression from Hannah's reminiscences. "At last we got to our land, pitched our tent. . .," she said.⁸¹ However it came about, the Ingrahams settled on Lot 16, with twenty-one acres of land. The four others from the King's American Regiment occupied land adjoining. Private John McKay had lots 13 and 15, both very small, and Lieutenant George Cox settled on Lot 14; these three parcels of land were situated between Lot 16 and the river. Above Benjamin, towards the Philip Weade farm, were Captain Peter Clements on Lot 17 and Ensign Thomas Barker on Lot 18.⁸² Benjamin, it seems, was surrounded by old friends,

⁸⁰ Isabel Louise Hill, on p. 1 of Fredericton, New Brunswick, British North America says: "They settled on the high ground extending from Mill Creek, their lots surveyed and numbered by Isaac Hedden." She does not quote her source.

Many New Jersey Volunteers settled in the Fredericton area, for example, families bearing the names Van Buskirk, Van Allen, Ruttan, Ryerson, Blaau, Van Norden, Heslop, Earle, McVean, Jouett, Wilmot, Van Horne, Vanderbeck, Ackerman, Fisher, Burkstaff, Swim, Rednor, Van Woert, Woolley.

⁸¹ Tippet, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

⁸² Maxwell, The History of Central New Brunswick, pp. 100-103.

which must have been some consolation and a great deal of help. Hannah spoke of an unmarried neighbour who lived with them that first winter. "He made the chimney and helped father with all his work, and he made shingles in the woods and would bring them home one bunch at a time."⁸³ The boarder was probably John McKay. In any case, all who settled below Philip Weade's farm in the fall of 1783 seem to have been squatters and were not to receive official title to their land until 1788.⁸⁴

Benjamin Ingraham wasted no time getting to work at erecting a log cabin for his family--the season was already well advanced. He began by seeking a suitable building site. "He went up through our lot," Hannah recalled, "till he found a nice fresh spring of water, he stooped down and pulled away the fallen leaves that were thick over it, and tasted it; it was very good, so there he built his house."⁸⁵ Benjamin, descended from a long line of coopers and carpenters, was handy with tools. Fortunately, he had brought his tools with him and did not have to rely solely on Government supply; consequently, he did not share in the consternation of most of the troops when the Government issue axe turned out to be a small hatchet.⁸⁶

⁸³ Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

⁸⁴ See below, p. 312.

⁸⁵ Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

⁸⁶ Hewlett to Carleton, 13 October 1783, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 141.

His first task was to clear and level a site for the house. Next he cut logs and notched the ends so they would fit at the corners. It would have made a neater job if all the logs had been hewn square, but there was no time for such refinements. He had to be content with flattening top and bottom just enough to make them fit snugly, thereby lessening the amount of chinking required. After leaving space for a door and a window or two, he filled the cracks with moss and mud. Then he smoothed the sides of a few logs, erected them as rafters, and made a roof of the bark of birch and spruce trees. Had he been in Parrtown, he could have shared in the bounty of boards and bricks and shingles, but it seems unlikely there were any available at St. Ann's and even more so that he was able to bring any building supplies up the river with him. At the end of the structure he arranged a platform of rough, flat stones to serve as a hearth, and on it he constructed a fireplace of stones with a mixture of mud and tiny sticks for mortar. At last Benjamin felt that the cabin was habitable, at least an improvement over the tent. And just in the nick of time, for the first snow had come. Hannah described this important moment in their lives.

One morning we waked to find the snow lying deep on the ground all round us, and then father came walking through it and told us the house was ready and not to stop to light a fire then, and not mind the weather, but follow his tracks through the trees, for the trees were so many we soon lost sight of him going up the hill; it was snowing fast, and, oh, so cold. Father carried a chest and we all carried something and followed him up the hill through the trees.

It was not long before we heard him pounding, and, oh, what a joy to see our gable end.

There was no floor laid, no window, no chimney, no door, but we had a roof at last.

A good fire was blazing on the hearth, and mother had a big loaf of bread with us, and she boiled a kettle of water and put a good piece of butter in a pewter bowl, and we toasted our bread and all sat round the bowl to eat our breakfast that morning, and mother said, "Thnak God, we are no longer in dread of having shots fired through our house. This is the sweetest meal I have tasted for many a day."⁸⁷

The family moved in. There was much to carry up the hill through the snow. Benjamin and the boarder carried the heavy things, Jerusha and the children the remainder. At last the tent came down, and Benjamin carried it up the hill in a neat roll. The Ingrahams were in their new home, Benjamin and Jerusha to spend the rest of their lives there, although not necessarily in this cabin. It was 6 November, and already winter was upon them.⁸⁸

Much remained to be done on the house. Benjamin split logs into shakes and made a rough door. How he solved the problem of windows is open to conjecture--he may have been able to procure a few bits of glass somewhere, or he may have brought some with him from New Concord. The lodger commenced immediately to work on the chimney and soon had it built of stones and yellow mud. Captain Clements came in one day to see Benjamin and exclaimed in surprise, "Why, Ingraham, you've got a chimney before me." Then they put in a floor of split cedar, followed by a floor overhead to make a bedroom.⁸⁹

⁸⁷Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

⁸⁸There is a slight discrepancy in the dates in various reports; however, 6 November seems the most likely one.

⁸⁹Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

By the time winter had established itself in earnest, the Ingraham family were as snug as they could have hoped for under the circumstances.

They were reasonably well sheltered among the thick trees well back from the river. They seem to have had sufficient food, thanks to the industry and foresight of Benjamin and Jerusha and the help of relatives and kind friends and neighbours in New Concord. As Hannah said, "We had rations given to us by the Government, flour and butter and pork; and tools were given to the men, too."⁹⁰ The officials, on their part, seemed to believe that the Loyalists had been well provided for. Sir Guy Carleton had written from New York to Brigadier General Fox on 12 September: "The Regiments have received a quantity of necessaries and stores at this place, so they can have no demands whatever after their arrival."⁹¹

Esther Clark Wright calculated the daily ration per person as one pound of flour, half a pound of beef, and an "infinitesimal quantity of butter." In addition each received per week a pound of oatmeal and one of pease and occasionally a little rice. Once in a while they might be lucky enough to lay their hands on a small quantity of vinegar or molasses. Children under ten years of age received half the amount.⁹²

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Carleton to Fox, 12 September 1783, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 132.

⁹² Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, p. 108.

What they were supposed to receive and what they received were, of course, two quite different things. There were all sorts of problems involved in the distribution of the provisions, problems created by logistics, supply, graft, and bureaucracy. What the Loyalist actually drew depended in large measure upon what happened to be in the Government Provision Store on the day the rations were dispensed. Since there was no provision depot at St. Ann's, there was the additional problem of transportation for the residents there.

The Government seems to have been moderately generous, in intent anyway, in handing out other supplies to the Loyalists. In addition to tents, bedding, and tools, various items of clothing formed part of the King's bounty. The accounts of the Storekeeper reveal that he had given out to 790 men, 433 women, 1000 children, and 211 servants sailing with the Spring Fleet the following items: "10,181 yards of Sheeting Linnen, 4,767 yards of Legging Cloth, 1,283 pairs of shoes, 2,252 pairs of hose, 1,393 pairs of mittens, 1,387 damaged blankets, 790 axes, 790 spades, and 425 tents."⁹³ Brook Watson, the Commissary General, reported in August that there remained in the King's Stores in New York nearly a thousand tons of "Provincial Cloathing, New Camp Equipage, Blankets, Knapsacks, and . . . Cavalry appointments" as well as 1,500 tons of butter. He recommended shipping to Halifax immediately 8,000 barrels of pork and 2,000 firkins of butter along

⁹³Major Mackenzie to Carleton, 15 August 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 20, No. 8729, PAC.

with all the items of clothing and equipment.⁹⁴ It seemed a general rule that army surplus in New York went to the Loyalist refugees.

The King's Bounty, however, was not sufficient to keep the Loyalists at St. Ann's from suffering during that severest of winters in 1783-1784. Mary Fisher, in her reminiscences, paints a bleak picture indeed. "Snow fell," she said, "on the second day of November to the depth of six inches." Many, for one reason or another, failed to build log huts for the shelter of their families; consequently, they were forced to spend the winter in their tents, with a covering of spruce boughs to reinforce them. The tents, of course, had no floor, and some sort of rude fireplace had to be constructed. Fires were kept burning day and night. Snow drifting through the opening in the tent was a problem; at the same time "the snow which lay six feet deep . . . helped greatly in keeping out the cold." Mothers clasped their infants close to their bodies constantly to keep them from freezing. Some heated boards which they applied to the smaller children to help keep them warm. But, in spite of all efforts, many succumbed to the intense cold.

Many women and children, and some of the men, died from cold and exposure. Graves were dug with axes and shovels near the spot where the party had landed, and there in stormy winter weather our loved ones were buried. We had no ministers so we had to bury them without any religious service besides our own prayers.

⁹⁴ Brook Watson to Major Mackenzie, 15 August 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 20, No. 8729, PAC.

The first burial ground continued to be used for some years until it was nearly filled. We called it "The Loyalist Provincials Burial Ground."⁹⁵

Not only were the Loyalists at St. Ann's cold that first winter; they were hungry as well. Many were short of food. Supplies expected before the close of navigation on the river did not arrive. "At one time," Mary Fisher recollected, "starvation stared us in the face." They went for help to the Loyalists farther up the river (most likely the King's American Dragoons at Prince William, who had come earlier in the year when ousted from Carleton), but they too were in distressing circumstances and could not help. In desperation some set out on the ninety-mile trek over the ice on snowshoes to Parrtown at the mouth of the river; they hauled provisions back for their famishing families on toboggans and handsleds.⁹⁶ They caught fish through the ice, and they hunted moose and deer. The struggle for survival kept them occupied.

Although Hannah did not mention it in her reminiscences, the Ingraham family no doubt suffered along with the rest of the Loyalists,--perhaps not so severely as some. Not all had the forethought or even the opportunity to bring provisions with them, and thus were completely dependent upon the Government rations, which often failed to materialize. Not all had the desire or the ability or the energy to build

⁹⁵Fisher, "The Grandmother's Story."

⁹⁶Ibid.

a cabin for their family's protection against the elements; some may have arrived too late in the season, some probably neglected to do so because of inability to anticipate the severity of a winter on the St. John. Others were perhaps naïve enough to rely upon the integrity and efficiency of the King's officials. Whatever the reason, many neglected to take the precautions against privation that Benjamin and Jerusha took; consequently, they found the discomfort of the long winter almost, and in some cases utterly, intolerable.

In the frosty silences of that bitter winter there was time for all the Loyalists at St. Ann's to contemplate their situation. Faint with hunger, shivering or numb with cold, homesick for the past, and anxious for the future, they watched the days and nights pass with monotonous regularity. It must have seemed ironic to many of them that as a reward for remaining loyal to the traditions of the past they had been ostracized and banished by their American neighbours, abandoned and forgotten by the British whose system they had sought to support. Who then were their friends? Their mental agony was well described in a letter which appeared in the London Chronicle.

The Loyalists in this country are most shamefully and traitorously abandoned. . . . Our fears at present surpass all description. Never was there on the face of the earth a set of wretches in a more deplorable situation. Deprived of all hope of future comfort or safety, either for themselves or their unhappy wives and children, many have lost their senses, and are now in a state of perfect madness. Some have put a period to their miserable existence by drowning, shooting, and hanging themselves, leaving their unfortunate wives and helpless infants destitute of bread

to support them.⁹⁷

That was in England--the deaths at St. Ann's were, as far as is known, from cold, exposure, and under-nourishment, not suicide. The bulk of the Loyalists managed to hang on, however tenuously, until spring.

Spring, though it brought alleviation from the seemingly interminable cold, nevertheless did not provide relief from hunger. "A full supply of provisions was looked for in the spring," Mrs. Fisher recalled, "but the people were betrayed by those they depended upon to supply them."⁹⁸ They shot pigeons; they ate fiddleheads and other wild plants. Some ate weeds which proved to be poisonous, and several died as a result. Men started to clear land and build log houses but had to desist from hunger. Others had to dig up the potatoes they had planted and eat them. Ludwig Fisher, Mary's husband, went up river to seek help from Captain McKay of the Dragoons, only to find the captain away from home on a similar mission, with only half a box of biscuits in the house between his family and starvation. It was a bleak period. But eventually a schooner arrived from Parrtown with cornmeal and rye.⁹⁹

Soon after, some one discovered several "large patches

⁹⁷ London Chronicle, 7-10 June 1783, quoted in Wertenbaker, Father Knickerbocker Rebels, p. 251.

⁹⁸ See Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, pp. 96-98 for information on the difficulties with the commissaries.

⁹⁹ Fisher, "The Grandmother's Story."

of beans beginning to grow, remarkable since none of the Loyalists had planted them. They were allowed to develop and mature, food now being more plentiful, schooners making regular trips from Parrtown with provisions. The beans grew and ripened--they were pure white, marked with a black cross. Mary Fisher called them "the staff of life and the hope of the starving."¹⁰⁰

Hannah Ingraham did not mention the beans in her reminiscences. Spring came, she said, and they soon got things planted. "We brought wheat and beans and seeds with us," she continued, "and we could sell anything for money down."¹⁰¹ They had survived the winter--the future looked brighter.

The Ingraham experience during the winter of 1783-1784 was basically the same as that of the other Loyalists in the region. The main common characteristic was suffering--from hunger, cold, loneliness, and anxiety. Since it was the month of October before any of them reached St. Ann's, it was too close to winter to provide themselves with anything more than the basic rudiments of shelter; depending upon the circumstances, some succeeded in this task better than others. The lateness of the season, of course, precluded the raising of any food on the land, making them fully dependent upon

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Tippet, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

Government rations; these being distributed from the King's Provision Store at the mouth of the river, the fall freeze-up, combined with bureaucratic inefficiency, soon interfered to cut off the supply. The vast majority of the St. Ann's Loyalists had come from the provinces of New York and New Jersey, and most, while familiar with the rigours of winter in those colonies, were totally unprepared for the extreme cold, deep snow, and lengthy duration of a winter in the inland section of the St. John valley. Consequently, they found it a horrendous nightmare.

Misery and suffering are, of course, relative terms, and the fact that Hannah Ingraham made less of the wretchedness of that first winter than did Mary Fisher may or may not be significant. Hannah Ingraham was an eleven-year-old child and may have been sheltered from the reality of the situation to some extent by her parents; in any case, children are more adaptable to new circumstances than are their elders. Mary Fisher, on the other hand, was an adult, a wife and mother, and likely more aware of the true nature of their predicament. Moreover, the circumstances of the Ingraham family were undoubtedly more favourable than those of the Fishers and many of the others. The Ingrahams were living in a log cabin, not a canvas tent; they had brought with them "five wagonloads" of furniture, utensils, and provisions. In short, they were better prepared for the winter than most, but not necessarily all, of their neighbours.

The Ingrahams' situation was no doubt at least in

part due to their past experience. Pioneering was not exactly a new way of life to Benjamin Ingraham. In his early 'teens he had moved with his parents from Connecticut to New Concord, at the time little if anything more than a frontier community. There he had helped his father carve out a new home in the wilderness. Consequently, he was familiar with the techniques, he knew exactly what needed doing and how to go about it when he reached St. Ann's. Many of the other Loyalists, on the other hand, had come from villages or towns where they had been tradesmen, shopkeepers, or labourers with no knowledge of pioneering and little of farming. Moreover, while Benjamin and Jerusha, in spite of the confiscation of their real and most of their moveable property, had much to bring with them, many Loyalists had been forced to flee in 1783, or even before, quite empty-handed; consequently, they arrived at St. Ann's with nothing other than Government issue. Finally, the circumstances of their lives lead one to believe that both Benjamin and Jerusha were endowed with a good measure of foresight, resourcefulness, and prudence, qualities which would stand them in good stead in a venture such as this one. As a result, their first winter in St. Ann's may have been less trying than that of many of the others.

The experience at St. Ann's in turn was similar to that of the Loyalists in the other northern frontier settlements. The feelings of frustration and despair, the fight against hunger and cold were common to all. However, some of the refugees had a few advantages over those up the St. John.

Those who came in the spring must have found life a little easier--at least they had the opportunity to become acclimatized and make a few preparations before the onset of winter. Those who lived in or near the larger centres, Halifax, Parrtown, Port Roseway (Shelburne), had one very definite advantage--they were close to the provision dispensing depots. But they, too, found life fraught with difficulty.

The difficulties of the Loyalists stemmed largely from the British Government, a fact of which the refugees were well aware and on which they must have reflected frequently during that first bitter winter. "There is a pervading, griping, quarreling, recriminating, often pathetic stridency about the Loyalists that is commonly found among emigrés," Wallace Brown observed.¹⁰² No wonder--they had much to "gripe" about. They were the victims, the real losers, of the American Revolution, and they knew it. In their view the British had lost "the late ill-managed war" needlessly, after which they proceeded to use the Loyalists as sacrifices in their hurried, almost frantic, effort to restore peace. In the latter view they were not far from the truth. Not only had the British failed to obtain guarantees for the restoration of the Loyalists to their place in the society of the new republic, but they had also failed to make adequate provision for them elsewhere until the eleventh hour. Finally, it became obvious to them that the Americans were serious

¹⁰² Brown, The King's Friends, p. 222.

about the banishment of the hated Tories as the refugee lists in Carleton's offices in New York increased in length; it became equally obvious that steps already taken to provide for them were far too slow and halting. Consequently, the Loyalists arrived in Nova Scotia before their land was surveyed and before adequate facilities to take care of them had been established. The suffering of these refugees during that first year in the Atlantic region was as needless as it was inhumane. But to attempt to apportion blame to certain individuals is an exercise in futility. Suffice it to say that many, like Sir Guy Carleton and his officers, did all they could to alleviate the distress of those unfortunates whose major crime had been to support the very system which threatened to abandon them. Others, concerned chiefly with maintaining their own place in the sun, evinced no interest in the welfare of the Loyalists. Perhaps the remarkable thing is that the Loyalists received as much attention as they did from a Government riddled with internal factional strife, rendered at times completely ineffective by interminable bureaucratic delays, weakened by internal intrigue and an abysmal ignorance of America, plagued by nepotism and sinecurism. But whatever its shortcomings, the British Government of the day must share with the Americans the responsibility for the plight of the Loyalists in 1783. The abandonment of 35,000 destitute, bewildered, unprepared refugees, totally ignorant of the country, many of them at the onset of a winter the like of which none of them had ever experienced, on

the wilderness shores of Nova Scotia was one of the less
laudatory aftermaths of the American Revolution.

CHAPTER VI

BENJAMIN INGRAHAM: PIONEER

Perhaps the greatest concerns of the Loyalist pioneers in the St. John valley were those of land and provisions. Before they left New York in 1783 they had been promised both, but in the spring of 1784 they realized that they as yet could be certain of neither. They had been guaranteed provisions until 1 May 1784.¹ By early spring of that year, however, it had become obvious that the vast majority had not yet obtained their lands, and that even most of the few who had could not produce any food before autumn; consequently, great numbers were in imminent danger of starvation. In the hope of providing at least a little reassurance to those in dire circumstances, Major General Campbell, General Fox's successor to the post of commander-in-chief, issued a proclamation on 31 March that the provisions would not cease on 1 May but would continue "to such of the Loyalists . . . whose necessities may require it, until His Majesty's pleasure be known." The disbanded soldiers had been promised a year's

¹Carleton to Fox. 18 July 1783, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 108.

²Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, p. 100.

supply, starting in October 1783 but in many cases had received only half of it.³ However, while attempting to reassure the Loyalists, Major General Campbell must have had considerable difficulty in reassuring himself. He was painfully aware of the short supply of provisions in the warehouses of the province and of the difficulties and uncertainties involved in procuring more.⁴ The officials in Halifax and Parrtown were forced to import all food commodities from Britain or even the United States and found themselves at the mercy and caprice of shipping companies, shipping agents, shipping schedules, wholesalers, retailers, and, last but not least, the weather. Add to that the incompetence and dishonesty of some of the local commissaries and the magnitude of the problem becomes easy to comprehend.

The first commissary at Fort Howe had no time for his job, the second was incompetent, and the third, who took office in the winter of 1784, was untrustworthy.⁵ Speaking of the ration situation in general, Edward Winslow wrote to his friend Lieutenant John Robinson in May 1784. "General Campbell," he said, "has discovered that the most infamous frauds have been committed and the most scandalous impositions

³Campbell to North, 18 December 1783, MG11, NS-A, Vol. 102, PAC.

⁴Ibid. For fuller details see MacKinnon, "The Loyalist Experiment in Nova Scotia, 1783-1791."

⁵Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, pp. 96-97.

attempted in the Returns for Rations from the Disbanded Corps & Loyalists."⁶ Nor were all the "frauds and impositions" the fruits of the ineptness or dishonesty of the deputy commissaries--quantities of provisions, like the pork and beef at Fort Howe, were simply stolen, disappeared in the night. Substantial amounts of the meat supplies, stored outside the building at Fort Howe, were stolen nightly, even though sentries were posted to guard them and the barrels counted morning and evening.⁷

To make matters even worse, many of the recipients of the bounty, some of the Loyalists themselves, were not beyond reproach. Every sort of irregularity and fraud that the mind could devise was perpetrated by some of them with the result that rations were drawn far in excess of the number of people entitled to them. While the authorities had some idea of the number of immigrants who had come into the province, they had no exact knowledge of how many had left or moved to a different locality. Hence it was a simple matter for a low-principled Loyalist to draw rations for far more people than he actually had in his family. Some cheated the authorities out of motives of sheer greed and dishonesty, others as a sort of insurance to protect themselves against hunger on those occasions when no provisions were forthcoming.

⁶ Winslow to John Robinson, --May 1784, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 200.

⁷ Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, pp. 95-96.

The shortage of food was not the only worry of the Loyalists on the St. John in the spring of 1784. Most had still not received their land grants; it is not surprising, in view of this, that there were rumblings of discontent up and down the valley. Governor Parr was hurt and disturbed

that after an incessant and laborious application to accommodate the refugees in every matter in [his] power which could possibly tend to their satisfaction and convenience, and to place them without any delay in their settlements, there could be any of them possessed of so much unreasonable impatience as to express any discontent in respect as to the number of surveyors.⁸

They were "unreasonably impatient" about more than the mere number of surveyors--they wanted their particular tract of land identified immediately, they wanted title to it, and they wanted to settle on it at once and begin their new life without any further delay. They were tired of awaiting the convenience of the officials, and they were not backward about making their feelings known to the Governor.

Governor Parr made a convenient scapegoat for the Loyalist tribulations. Actually, he was partly responsible. His policy was one of "delay and procrastination where speed and decisiveness were demanded."⁹ His inaction and indecisiveness may be attributed to the fact that he was living in the "shadow of dismissal" as long as the North-Fox Government was

⁸ Parr to North, 29 April 1784, quoted in Beamish Murdoch, A History of Nova Scotia, or Acadie, 3 volumes (Halifax: James Barnes, Printer and Publisher, 1867), 3: 31.

⁹ MacKinnon, "The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia, 1783-1791," p. 78.

in power. With its fall in the spring of 1784 Parr again regained his self-confidence and stood up against the Loyalist agents, that "pack of rascals replete with gross partialities."¹⁰

The Loyalists did not attach all the blame to Governor Parr; their criticism extended as well to Charles Morris, the Surveyor-General of Nova Scotia, to whom they attributed responsibility for the slowness of the surveys. They felt it was no fault of theirs that the task of surveying thousands of acres of land in so short a period of time completely overwhelmed Morris' tiny staff of twenty-three surveyors.¹¹ And while they complained bitterly about the ineptness of the Surveyor's office, they at the same time steadfastly refused to speed up the survey by lending a hand as a chainman or axeman. Parr complained that the men on the St. John refused the surveyors "the slightest assistance, without being assured that they would be paid for it."¹² The settlers on their part, promised a free survey, expected just that from the Government.¹³

¹⁰ MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, pp. 36-37.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Quoted in James S. Macdonald, "Memoirs of Governor Parr," Nova Scotia Historical Society Collections 14 (1910): 51:

¹³ Royal Instructions to Governor Parr, 10 June 1783, MG23, B1, Vol. 41, No. 7958, Article 53, PAC.

Although Morris' was "the nightmare position in that year" and he was beset by promises not of his own making, he still cannot be exonerated completely. The members of his department "took what advantage they could of the flow of British largesse" and were guilty of more than a few irregularities.¹⁴

The majority of the Loyalists, however, seem to have been more inclined to blame the agents for the deplorable situation they found themselves in. These agents, appointed to seek out land for settlement and to administer the process, it appeared had simply failed to perform their function. Nearer to the Loyalists than the Governor and his Council or the Surveyor-General, the agents became the main targets of the growing dissatisfaction. Those refugees who arrived with the Fall Fleet, the late comers, the Provincials, the soldiers who had actually fought for the King, were disenchanted with what they saw. The agents, they said, had taken excellent care of themselves and their friends in the disposal of the lots in Parrtown and Carleton. Governor Parr, by this time secure in the favour of the new Government, dared to take a stand--he sided with the critics of the agents. The cacophany of complaints and recriminations increased in intensity as the days went by. "The common people," Edward Winslow wrote, "were beginning to indulge themselves in all manner of

¹⁴See MacKinnon, "The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia, 1783-1791," p. 381.

excesses and becoming insolent and rude."¹⁵ John Coffin agreed; the complainers, he remarked, "by G-- deserve halters to a man."¹⁶ The dissidents soon found themselves a champion upon the arrival of the Loyalist lawyer, Elias Hardy, who, in the words of Parr, soon "stirred them up to the forming of a Committee, to Collect Matters of Grievances."¹⁷

The winter of 1783-1784 had been more than a period of privation and suffering from cold and hunger; it had also been a "winter of discontent," of complaint and grievance against the authorities who had failed to fulfill the promises of the King and Government. By spring it seemed to have become apparent to Governor Parr and his Council that the Loyalists, loyal to the King perhaps but still transplanted Americans, should be trifled with no longer.

Spring came later in St. Ann's than in New Concord, and Benjamin Ingraham wasted no time in getting his crops planted. The seeds he had brought with him from his old home were soon deposited in the rich earth among the stumps in the land which Benjamin had cleared in the weeks before seeding time. He sowed wheat and rye to make flour for the next

¹⁵ Winslow to Brook Watson, 10 January 1784, quoted in Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, p. 131.

¹⁶ Major John Coffin to Winslow, 20 April 1784, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 179.

¹⁷ See S. D. Clark, Movements of Political Unrest in Canada, 1640-1840 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), pp. 149-156.

winter. He planted hills of corn with beans around them to climb the cornstalks; he planted squash and pumpkins and potatoes and turnips. A good yield was expected on this virgin soil, and it was realized. "One bushel of wheat yielded thirty," Hannah recalled.¹⁸ After the harsh winter Benjamin and Jerusha were only too aware of their own needs for the next season; they anticipated a great demand for provisions among the inhabitants in general, and they recognized farm produce as their only source of income for the present. Accordingly, they spared no effort to raise as much food as possible on their land at the top of Nigger Hill, as the neighbourhood came to be called.

Benjamin Ingraham and his family no doubt were aware of the importance in frontier life of establishing and maintaining good relations with their neighbours. The four nearest, all veterans of the King's American Regiment, Benjamin already knew. There were John McKay, on Lots 13 and 15, and George Cox, on Lot 14, between the Ingraham land and the river. Next door to Benjamin on the upriver side was Captain Peter Clements, in a few years to move to "Clairmont" in Douglas, where his descendants still live. Then came Lieutenant Thomas Barker, one time magistrate and proprietor of a 1,000 acre estate in Dutchess County, New York. The other residents on Nigger Hill were new to the Ingrahams. Lot 19, next to the Barkers, was occupied by Monson Hayt (Hoyt),

¹⁸Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

former quartermaster of the Prince of Wales American Regiment, who later became assistant to the commissary in Fredericton and secretary to the board of trustees charged with the responsibility of laying out the town. Garret Clopper, quartermaster of the New York Volunteers, settled on Lot 20 and became the first Registrar of Deeds for York County, Master of the Rolls, and road commissioner. Moving down off the Hill, but still on the road leading to it (only a well-worn path in 1784), one came to the lot of Captain Daniel Lyman of the Prince of Wales American Regiment, one of the four members elected for York County to the first legislature of the province of New Brunswick. Where the Nigger Hill road joined present-day Waterloo Row was the three-acre lot of Dr. Charles Earle, beside the creek which bears his name--Dr. Earle arrived in the fall of 1783 and devoted his winter to caring for the sick and dying. Benjamin Ingraham's neighbours, for the most part, were influential in the new community and must have been of great assistance to him in those first years in his new abode.¹⁹

The population of St. Ann's increased significantly during the spring and summer of 1784. Most of the disbanded soldiers destined for land grants had chosen to remain at the mouth of the river during the winter; indeed, Governor Parr had in the late autumn forbidden any more of the regiments to

¹⁹See Maxwell, The History of Central New Brunswick, for information on the first residents of Fredericton.

proceed up the river, but had subsequently lifted the ban.²⁰ Early in the spring the stream of Provincials and their families began to pour into St. Ann's. A row of log houses took form along the river from Mill Creek up to Sunbury Street, (the present University Avenue). Above this line stretched the farm of Philip Weade and the main intervale on the point above was reserved for the proposed town.²¹ The Town Plat was laid out in the late spring by Dugald Campbell, acting on instructions from Governor Parr conveyed in a letter from Charles Morris, junior on 21 April. "The Governor," Morris wrote, "has ordered a Town to be laid out on St. Anne's Point on the land formerly surveyed and laid out by me for that purpose." Captain Lyman was to help him.²² Thomas Knox, reporting on his visit to the town in July, commented: "The Town of St. Ann's is marked out but as yet no house makes its appearance."²³ The houses of Benjamin Ingraham and his neighbours were, of course, in the trees on Nigger Hill, a mile or so down river from the Town Plat laid out by Campbell and Lyman.

²⁰Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, p. 130.

²¹Maxwell, The History of Central New Brunswick, p. 97.

²²Morris to Dugald Campbell, 24 April 1784, Morris Letter Book, PANS, quoted in Maxwell, The History of Central New Brunswick, p. 98.

²³Knox to Winslow, 25 July 1784, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 216.

There were other important visitors to St. Ann's during the summer of 1784. In August the commander-in-chief, Major General Campbell, accompanied by Edward Winslow, paid a visit to the new town and ordered a barracks built there and a captain's command.²⁴ News arrived that the part of the province of Nova Scotia north of Chignecto was to become a separate province called New Brunswick, not New Ireland as previously suggested.²⁵ More and more people moved into the area during the summer, along the St. John, along the Nashwaak and the Nashwaaksis, and into St. Ann's itself. By October, traffic to and fro across the rivers was heavy enough that Daniel Sickles applied for the exclusive franchise to operate a ferry. He had built a boat at considerable expense, he stated in his memorial, and for a long time had "without advantage, ferried people backwards and forwards across the Nashwaak and River St. John to and from the town of Ozneburg." He found that this task took up the whole of his time. Therefore, he humbly prayed for "a license and an exclusive privilege to keep the ferry" and to have the amount of the fare set."²⁶

²⁴William Chew to Gideon White, 23 August 1784, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 222.

²⁵Chipman to Winslow, 17 April 1784, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 178.

²⁶William Odber Raymond, "The James White Papers," Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society 4 (1899): 59; also quoted in Hill, Fredericton, New Brunswick, British North America, p. 3.

Sickles' ferry landed in Osnaburg, as he called St. Ann's, at McLeod's Inn, in front of present-day 12-14 Waterloo Row. There was in 1784 an abortive attempt to change the name of St. Ann's to Osnaburg in honour of George III's second son, who at the time held the title of Bishop of Osnaburg. Before that the tiny English settlement had also been known by some as Atherton, after the trader who lived there.²⁷ The town became known as Fredericton only after it was chosen as the capital of the new province, but even then the old historic name of St. Ann's clung for a long time.

Benjamin Ingraham had little time to concern himself about the laying out of the Town Plat, or the obstacles placed in its way by Philip Weade, whose property occupied the lower part of the land in question. The lands of both Benjamin Atherton and Philip Weade encroached upon the area envisaged for the town; the way of getting around this difficulty seemed to be to escheat both properties and then make grants of equal value in other regions to the owners. Atherton presented no problem; his Fredericton land was sold to Governor Carleton, and Atherton was given a sizeable grant in Prince William, where he moved with his family, as well as some other lots in the town.²⁸ The dealings with Weade, who had resented the encroachments of the Loyalists from the very beginning, proved

²⁷ Raymond, "The James White Papers," p. 59.

²⁸ The Fredericton Town Book, UNB Archives.

to be less amicable. Weade fought the escheat every inch of the way and soon became something less than popular with the Directors. The "falsehood of his assertions" and his "many liberties" were for a time the main topic of their meetings, and it was not until some time in 1785 that the escheats were finally accomplished.²⁹ Benjamin's main concern no doubt was that plans for the town would in no way interfere with his twenty-one acres, to which he had no official title. And while he noted the "building boom" along the river and the installation of ferry service across it, his time was completely taken up at home. What with land to clear, crops to harvest and thresh and store, improvements to make on the house, and outbuildings to erect, there was little time for other pursuits. However, Benjamin always seems to have had help. "Another man came," Hannah recalled, "and wanted to live with us, and he knew how to thatch. . ."³⁰ However, busy as he was, there were two main concerns which troubled Benjamin Ingraham along with the rest of the Loyalists,-- rations and land.

Governor Parr and his Council, too, were concerned and finally decided to make an attempt to improve the situation. First, they took measures designed to put an end to the cheating. It was decided that the only solution to a

²⁹Maxwell, The History of Central New Brunswick, Note 8, pp. 142-143; Land Petitions, 29 June 1784 and 31 July 1784, LB11, M/f Reel L75, PANB.

³⁰Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

fair and equitable distribution of the Royal Bounty was to hold a muster of all the Loyalists. This way heads could be counted and ration tickets issued, and the fraud would diminish if not disappear entirely.

Thomas Knox, appointed deputy muster master for the River St. John and Passamaquoddy settlements, arrived in St. Ann's early in the summer of 1784. "Having closed my Business at Parr & Carleton and the Settlements in the Neighbourhood," he wrote to Campbell on 24 June, "I shall set off tomorrow for the River St. Johns. From the depressed state of the People and the necessity of seeing every Individual it is not possible to say what time the duty on the River and its different Branches may require."³¹ He took his appointment seriously and attended to every detail with meticulous care. He reported to Edward Winslow, Major General Campbell's secretary, on 25 July that he had finished "at Saint Ann's the Settlements above and the Nashwaake." He had varied his procedure from the established one of calling each regiment together in one specified place.

The impossibility of assembling the Corps at any particular place, which would be attended with so much inconvenience to the Families of Women and Children, and their importunities so great to be seen in their own Houses, that I have been obliged to take account of them wherever I met them. This has induced delay. . . .³²

³¹ Knox to Campbell, 24 June 1784, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 212.

³² Knox to Winslow, 25 July 1784, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, pp. 215-216.

Knox yielded to the wishes of the settlers wherever possible. He was welcomed wherever he went, the Loyalists being delighted that they had not after all been forgotten by the Government. They showed him the improvements they had made, the houses they had built--very likely he even had the opportunity to inspect Benjamin Ingraham's chimney. They also had a chance to voice their complaints to a Government official.

A major source of dissatisfaction in St. Ann's was the difficulty involved in transporting the Government rations up the river from Fort Howe. It was the responsibility of the settlers themselves, or their delegates, to pick up their provisions at the King's Provision Warehouse at the mouth of the river; the result was much inconvenience, hard work, and loss of time. Some who were unable to make the trip themselves and had to depend upon others to collect their rations for them found themselves cheated to the point of privation. Something needed to be done to improve the situation. On behalf of the two thousand Loyalists on the St. John a group of the officers petitioned the Commander-in-Chief to establish a provision store at St. Ann's--four of Benjamin Ingraham's neighbours on Nigger Hill signed the memorial, Peter Clements, Thomas Barker, Daniel Lyman, and Andrew Maxwell. Knox, too, wrote to Campbell on the subject. "The inconvenience to which they were subjected," he said in his letter,

from the necessity of drawing their Provisions at the mouth of the River had determined me to extend my Report to the particular hardships of their situation, and the general injury sustained by the settlements; but that intention is now superceded by your late

order to establish a Magazine of Provisions at St. Ann's Point. . . .³³

Major General Campbell, favourably impressed with the town on his August visit and cognizant of the difficulties, had already complied with the citizens' request.

The plans went ahead without delay. On 25 September William Garden, the newly-appointed commissary for St. Ann's wrote: "I have employed Mr. Monson Hayt as Clerk, and a man as cooper and issuer The public buildings are in great forwardness, one of the Provision stores will be fit for the reception of Provisions next week."³⁴ The store, no doubt, was the most important public building in St. Ann's. "In front of the King's Provision Warehouse," Hannah Ingraham recalled, "there was always a sentry on guard walking up and down with his bayonet fixed."³⁵

Provisions promised to be more readily available during the coming winter. Other improvements were made in the system of distribution of the King's Bounty as a result of the 1784 muster. Loyalists' children born in the province were added to the list of those entitled to provisions.³⁶

³³Knox to Campbell, 3 November 1784, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 242.

³⁴William Garden to Winslow, 25 September 1784, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 235.

³⁵Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

³⁶Knox to Frederick Hecht, 1 September 1784, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 223.

Knox struck the "nominal servants" of the officers from the list; actual servants received rations in their own right. The names of persons who had died or left the province were removed, as well as those who had no claim to status as a Loyalist. Mustering by district rather than by regiment, the issuance of ration tickets, and the establishment of a warehouse in the area, it was hoped, would remove some of the impersonality of distribution, thus cutting out much of the inequity and fraud.³⁷ Knox may have been given to "fussing" and "stirring up hornets' nests," as Esther Clark Wright suggested, but there is no doubt that his 1784 muster in St. Ann's accomplished a great deal of good.³⁸

The other grievance of the Loyalists on the St. John was the delay in receiving their land grants, and the efforts of Elias Hardy at organizing a grievance committee worried Governor Parr more than a little. In an attempt to calm the troubled waters, he dispatched the Chief Justice, Bryan Finucane, to the region in the spring of 1784. Finucane, taking the side of the disaffected, solved a few of the problems and exacerbated most of the squabbles. Some of the decisions of the agents were countermanded; property began to change hands contrary to the wishes of the present owners, many of whom had been granted far more than their just share.

³⁷Thomas Knox's Report to Major General Campbell, 3 November 1784, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, pp. 241-246.

³⁸Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, p. 104.

"I have been with Finucane," Coffin wrote to Winslow, "and understand your lot and Murray's are taken from you in part."³⁹ The agents, in a huff at what they considered to be the ostentatious presumption of the Chief Justice, refused to cooperate. Winslow took the part of his friends. "The operations of the Chief Justice," he wrote to Ward Chipman, "have terminated exactly as we expected--the hauteur and parade which distinguished him had not the intended effect--such men as our old friends Hewlett, Deveber, Coffin, Leonard, Tyng &c are not easily dazzled by such superficial nonsense, and they have treated him with perfect contempt."⁴⁰ And John Coffin remarked: ". . . to have the Chief Justice . . . lay violent hands on everything, and condemn everybody he thinks proper and derange all our affairs without a candid hearing is too much."⁴¹ The Chief Justice was unperturbed; he proceeded, on the one hand, to redistribute land on a fairer basis and, on the other, to do the very thing he accused the agents of. He secured for himself the rich-soiled, heavily-timbered, 500-acred Sugar Island, in the St. John River a few miles above St. Ann's, and then departed in the midst of the storm which he had not created but had helped immeasurably to

³⁹Coffin to Winslow, 5 May 1784, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 186.

⁴⁰Winslow to Chipman, 12 May 1784, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 204.

⁴¹Coffin to Winslow, 15 May 1784, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, pp. 205-206.

intensify. After his departure the tempest gradually subsided. Many of the disbanded soldiers left the crowded town and proceeded up the river to St. Ann's to be near their grants when they were located and surveyed. Parr and Morris revived their flagging energies and the surveys gathered momentum. The future began to brighten as far as the land grants were concerned.

In spite of the slow pace of the land surveys and grants, many Loyalists were settling on lots, improving them, and then applying for a grant. The case of Benjamin Ingraham's brother Abijah serves as an example. Abijah had come to the St. John, too, with the King's American Regiment. He most likely spent the winter of 1783-1784 at Parrtown and formed part of the spring migration to the lands at St. Ann's and above. Had he been with Benjamin and his family, Hannah would likely have mentioned it in her recollections. Abijah, who had joined the regiment as a private a few months later than Benjamin, was promoted like his brother to the rank of corporal and subsequently sergeant. He served in Captain Clements' company and later went in with Captain Isaac Atwood when his company converted to cavalry. In the spring of 1784 Abijah went directly to Block 3 with his friend Samuel Crawford, also late of Captain Clements' company. Neither was married at the time. They settled on a lot, improved it, and applied for a grant in September 1784.

September ye 3rd, 1784
To all to whom it may Concern
that wee the Subscribers now Liveing on the Block

called the Pineers Block on Number 19 and have Lived here sence the first of June Last and are (?) with Loots of Land Lying neer then doth Cartifie that there is no parson hath settled or improved on the Lot No. 23 nor on Block 22, onely on Block 22 there is sum Logs Layed up in imetation of Log houses but no roof on them neither is there any sort of grain or vetchetables growing on said Lott the Logs was Layed by the parts of Johnston and Storm which wee have heard both of them say they have Drawed thare Lands on the (?) of Patrick Ryan up the River and further sayeth not.

*Bijah Ingraham⁴²
-Samuel Crawford

The response to Ingraham and Crawford's request is not recorded. It may well have been negative, for this is not the land on which they finally settled.

Benjamin Ingraham in 1784 was living on land to which he still had no official title, as were all of his St. Ann's neighbours. But the train of events which was to settle their future was already in motion. Sir Thomas Carleton, the governor of the new province, arrived in Parrtown on 21 November 1784, Sunday, amid "salutes from a battery, loud huzzas from a tumultuous throng, & cries of 'Long live the King & the Governor.'" ⁴³ Although many of the leading Loyalists were disappointed that Brigadier General Henry Fox, brother of the politician Charles James Fox and former commander-in-chief in Nova Scotia, had refused the position, they welcomed Sir Thomas as a second choice. After all, he was the brother of the Loyalists' hero, Sir Guy Carleton. The St. Ann's residents had the opportunity to demonstrate their joy in the

⁴² Land Records, LB14, M/f Reel 76, PANB.

⁴³ MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 53.

mid-winter of 1785 when the Governor, accompanied by Thomas Knox, Jonathan Odell, and William Hazen made a trip to the town.⁴⁴

Happy to see the new Governor, the inhabitants of St. Ann's were overjoyed when he chose their town as the capital of the new province. Perhaps Carleton agreed with another visitor to St. Ann's that winter. "St. Ann's is an old cleared spot," the visitor wrote, "and is the most central and beautiful spot for a town I ever beheld."⁴⁵ Carleton, it appears, whose instructions had directed him to choose the site for the capital, had never even contemplated Parrtown.⁴⁶ Pleased with the prospect of St. Ann's, he saw it also as a suitable centre for a military base. The two regiments could be safely garrisoned here, safe from attacks by sea, and half way between Halifax and Quebec in case they were needed. Moreover, this was the country of the disbanded Loyalist American troops, who might be of inestimable value in time of emergency. It was hoped that locating the capital in the centre would help to spread settlement throughout the province, and, by encouraging the cultivation of the interior, the main emphasis would be on agricultural rather than commercial pursuits. This way the province would soon be able to feed

⁴⁴ Benjamin Marston to Winslow, 18 February 1785, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 268.

⁴⁵ William Donaldson to Thomas Newland, 9 February 1785, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 266. Donaldson later became a business partner of William Garden, the commissary.

itself. In addition, Carleton, like many of the Loyalist elite, disliked the bustle and turmoil of commercial life in the city and believed that the peace and quiet of a more pastoral life would contribute to orderly government.⁴⁷ They saw St. Ann's as an eminently more suitable abode for gentlemen than the commercial centre at the mouth of the river. "The rural environment," Stewart MacNutt wrote, "in contrast to the commercial environment of Saint John, promised a habitation where aristocratic fashions in government and society might have freer expression."⁴⁸

The Governor's preference seems to have become known while he was still in St. Ann's. The inhabitants suspected that new plans might be envisaged for laying out the town, that the old plan might be deemed unsuitable for the capital of the province. They began to have misgivings that the lots already granted might be escheated, that they would lose on the deal, that the already slow settlement of the town would be further impeded. Accordingly, a memorial was presented to Carleton before he left, reiterating that a town had been promised the citizens by the Government and that some of the lots had already been granted and requesting that any re-survey would "be speedily accomplished and urging their.

⁴⁷ See Condon, "'The Envy of the American States': The Settlement of the Loyalists in New Brunswick: Goals and Achievements."

⁴⁸ MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 57.

claims."⁴⁹

For the time being the Government met in Parrrtown, which, in an attempt to appease its citizens, irate at Carleton's choice of another site for the capital, was given a charter and renamed Saint John. Most of the officials had come with the Governor on the same ship from Britain. Edward Winslow, who was not included on the Governor's slate, complained in after years that "the assault on St. James was more successful than the assault on St. John."⁵⁰ The position of provincial secretary, which Winslow had expected would be his, went to Jonathan Odell. George Duncan Ludlow became chief justice, with James Putnam, Joshua Upham, and Isaac Allen as puisne judges. The other important appointments were Jonathan Bliss as attorney-general, Ward Chipman as solicitor-general, and George Sproule as surveyor-general.

Action was taken on the St. Ann's petition at a meeting of the Governor and his Council on 22 February. The "regulations for the speedy building and orderly settlement of a town at St. Ann's point" were adopted, as was a warrant for Dugald Campbell to survey the town plat. It was to be

⁴⁹Maxwell, The History of Central New Brunswick, p. 99.

⁵⁰Quoted in MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 49. Winslow had been the secretary and friend of Major General Henry Fox while the latter was commander-in-chief in Nova Scotia. Believing in the partition of Nova Scotia very strongly, Winslow influenced Fox, who in turn influenced his brother, Charles James Fox. But when Henry Fox refused the governorship of the new province and the North-Fox Government fell, Winslow lost his chance of important office in the government of New Brunswick.

called "Frederick Town after His Royal Highness the Bishop of Osnaburg."⁵¹ Frederick, the young Bishop, was about to be married, and his father granted him a new title, the Duke of York and Albany. Consequently, St. Ann's became Fredericton in York County instead of Osnaburg.⁵² In April 1785 Carleton wrote to Lord Sydney, the Colonial Secretary, about his plans for St. Ann's. "Here the foundations are preparing," he said, "for the Metropolis of New Brunswick which as a mark of respect to His Highness the Duke of York I have given the name of Frederic's town which I hope may meet with His Majesty's approbation."⁵³ But it was not until November that it was officially announced that Fredericton was the capital of New Brunswick.⁵⁴

In August the Governor-in-Council appointed a Board of Trustees for the town of Fredericton "to direct the surveyors, receive the applications for grants, and to arrange for those who had already settled provided their improvements did not interfere with roads or squares."⁵⁵ The surveyors, under the direction of Dugald Campbell, went to work with

⁵¹Maxwell, The History of Central New Brunswick, p. 90.

⁵²MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 58.

⁵³Carleton to Sydney, 25 April 1785, quoted in Maxwell, The History of Central New Brunswick, p. 99.

⁵⁴MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 58.

⁵⁵Maxwell, The History of Central New Brunswick, pp. 99-100. The trustees were: Edward Winslow, Isaac Allen, Dugald Campbell, Edward Stelle, and Munson Hayt.

despatch, and it was not long before the Town Plat (the area between present-day Smythe Street and University Avenue and from the river to Charlotte Street) was marked out to the new specifications. Those who had already received grants seem to have been disrupted almost not at all.⁵⁶ In the spring of 1786 Edward Winslow, in his capacity as secretary of the Town Trustees, began to receive and register the applications for town lots and to grant licenses of occupation.⁵⁷ The whole process, however, was not finalized until 24 March 1788 when at last the land was officially registered. Two grants were made. One, known as the Ackerman Grant, transferred the land on the Town Plat from the Crown to Cornelius Ackerman and twenty-eight others. The other, the Heddon Grant, comprised what was known as the "reserved lands," which lay above and below the Town Plat, the lands upon which the Loyalists who arrived in the autumn of 1783 and the spring of 1784 had settled. This land was granted to Isaac Heddon and sixty-eight others. Benjamin Ingraham was one of the sixty-eight.⁵⁸

⁵⁶At the meeting of the Trustees on 10 April 1786. Adam Allam was ordered to proceed and ascertain the situation and improvements of the several persons occupying the reserved lands between Mill Creek and the lower end of the Town and make report with all convenient speed, describing accurately on the plans annexed the situation of the buildings, names of Occupants, and such other circumstances as may tend to convey information to the Trustees.

⁵⁷Maxwell, The History of Central New Brunswick, p. 102.

⁵⁸Ibid., Chapter VII, pp. 96-113. This is the only account I have been able to find of the founding and planning of Fredericton.

Thus in 1788 Benjamin's title to his twenty-one acres on Nigger Hill was finally official, although it had been assured as early as 1784. Although Benjamin, a yeoman and former sergeant in a town filled with officers from the Provincial Regiments, played no significant part in the political events of 1784 and 1785, he could not have been otherwise than interested in what was happening. He watched from the sidelines, awaiting his opportunity to make good on the new frontier. In a town where for every place there were ten place-seekers, half-pay officers, university graduates, men who had held influential positions in the revolted colonies, men who had influential friends in New Brunswick and London, he knew he must look elsewhere for success. His hope lay with the land,--how much he could procure, how much he could cultivate, how much he could raise upon it. Pioneering was not new to him, nor was farming. In New Brunswick there would be members of the elite who would need provisions and who would require jobs of work done on their estates. A skilled farmer and craftsman, he would help fill this need; in this way he would get his hands on some of the capital required to purchase land from Loyalists who were discouraged and ready to leave or who had no desire to occupy their land grants anyway.

The Ingraham family and the majority of the other Loyalists in St. Ann's found the winter of 1784-1785 less gruelling than the previous one. Most had raised some provisions during the summer and consequently were somewhat less

dependent on the Government rations. They had had the summer to build a house or to make improvements on the one they had built in the fall of 1783. And, equally important, having already experienced one winter of the St. John, they knew what to expect. Nevertheless, there was much suffering during the second winter, too. For many it was the first. Large numbers of Provincials had settled on their land on both sides of the St. John and the Nashwaak during the summer but had not had sufficient time to establish themselves and to provide adequate food and shelter for the winter. Even some of those at St. Ann's who ought to have been fairly well settled had made little provision for the months ahead. Some had received land grants but had not troubled themselves to occupy them; others had sold theirs for a fraction of their value. Some dissipated all their rations in a few days; others sold theirs for a pittance and were on the verge of starvation by the onset of winter. Some had been born and bred in Boston or New York or Philadelphia and knew nothing about farming and less about pioneering; others were wastrels and ne'er-do-wells, accustomed to living from hand to mouth in the city streets. But even for those who were neither "vicious or indolent" but rather ambitious, sober, and industrious food was often in short supply during the winter months of 1784-1785. This, in spite of the fact that many of the problems of distribution that plagued those responsible during the first year had been solved.

William Garden, appointed St. Ann's commissary in

September 1784, had his work cut out for him. Taking his job seriously in contrast to some of his counterparts at Fort Howe and elsewhere, he struggled to become acquainted with the Loyalists in his district, but it required time to get to know them all. "The people from Maugerville & Burton," he wrote to Winslow, "who have never been victualled here come to me individually, without either certificate or recommendation from the heads of their Class or any one that I know, and are very much affronted that I do not know every one of them personally and their pretensions, but this I cannot help."⁵⁹ This was only six days after they had been assigned to him for victualling! There is no doubt that the commissariat kept him and his clerk, Monson Hayt, very busy. "The Locusts from Maugerville and Burton," Garden wrote, "together with my other friends in the Ration way, give me little respite."⁶⁰ Garden was meticulous in his record keeping, industrious in getting to know his clientele, and chary in handing out provisions. Nothing was wasted. Speaking of rations at St. Ann's, Thomas Knox remarked: "They have been dealt out with a sparing hand by a parsimonious Commissary. ..."⁶¹

If the dispensation of the King's Bounty in St. Ann's

⁵⁹ Garden to Winslow, 28 September 1785, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 316.

⁶⁰ Same to Same, 27 October 1785, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 318.

⁶¹ Knox to Winslow, 30 March 1785, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 284.

was a challenge, keeping the Warehouse stocked with supplies was a greater one: Garden had to be precise and niggling in doling out the provisions; otherwise, the Store would have been empty much of the time, with disastrous consequences. As early as January there were "distressful stories" from many quarters, and a sloop laden with flour sailed from Halifax for the St. John on the twenty-fourth, with another to follow in a few days.⁶² In March Governor Carleton took it upon himself to purchase a quantity of flour and send it up to St. Ann's in anticipation of the spring break-up, during which it would be impossible "for them to procure assistance from hence, let their condition be ever so deplorable."⁶³ Knox gave orders for "six weeks flour and two weeks pork" to tide them over until such time as boats could be put in the river again. He expressed sorrow for the Maryland Loyalists on the *Nashwaak* "who have scarcely a ration left among them."⁶⁴ In spite of all efforts, however, provisions in the St. Ann's warehouse were very scarce by June. The Commissary wrote to Winslow on the twenty-eighth: "All our promising views and hopes will be blasted, and the settlement must fail if flour or bread is not immediately sent up, let it come from where

⁶² Mather Byles, junior to Winslow, 25 January 1785, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 265.

⁶³ Knox to Winslow, 30 March 1785, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 184.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

it may."⁶⁵ The cereal evidently arrived since the settlement continued to exist.

Just how long Benjamin Ingraham continued to draw Government rations is not known--presumably as long as he was entitled to them. His circumstances were well known to the Commissary, who lived about a mile away, and his secretary, one of Benjamin's near neighbours.⁶⁶ Benjamin, however, was much too ambitious and provident a man to allow himself to get into a position in which he would be entirely dependent for his livelihood on a source as unreliable as the Government Provision Store. The creation of the new province and the subsequent choice of St. Ann's as its capital worked to Benjamin's advantage. The rapid growth of the town and the influx of officials gave promise of a market for his produce. He got started without delay. Hannah reminisced that many people wanted the things they had for sale and "father was always getting jobs of work from the gentry that soon followed the Loyalists."⁶⁷ As is general in pioneer societies, there was an acute shortage of labour--a tremendous opportunity for any one with the time, inclination, and skill to perform the tasks in demand. The "gentry" in many cases felt above manual

⁶⁵Garden to Winslow, 28 June 1785, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 308.

⁶⁶William Garden lived on the corner of present-day Church and Queen Streets. He later sold his property to Peter Fraser, the merchant, and moved to the "Family Compact" neighbourhood above the town.

⁶⁷Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

labour; some, in the years that followed, found it necessary to peel off their coats and roll up their sleeves. William Cobbett, the English writer and observer who was the sergeant-major of the regiment in St. Ann's in 1784, described them as "captains and colonels without soldiers and squires without shoes and stockings."⁶⁸ Whether or not they felt above working with their hands, many of them lacked the expertise required in clearing and building, the two areas in greatest demand. "There were the Chief Justice and the Governor and Parson Cooke and his family," Hannah said, "and other ladies too, and we sold them cream and butter; they were glad to get the things, and we were glad to sell, for it kept us in money to buy groceries."⁶⁹

Hannah was perhaps somewhat sad to see the town grow for her source of raspberries disappeared as a result. The Town Plat, she recalled, "was covered with raspberry bushes, and my brother John and I used to run down there as hard as we could, when we had time, to pick berries, and we were proud when we got a pint to take to mother, for she had been used to plenty of fruit. . . ."⁷⁰ No doubt Hannah had less spare time in the summer of 1785, for Jerusha was pregnant, and Hannah, now thirteen years old, would be called upon to help

⁶⁸Maxwell, The History of Central New Brunswick, p. 115.

⁶⁹Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

⁷⁰Ibid.

with the housework. Jerusha gave birth to a son on 21 November--they called him Ira.

While Benjamin Ingraham laboured to improve his home on Forest Hill, as Nigger Hill came to be called, he had his eye on land outside Fredericton as well. In the spring of 1785 he and Abijah applied for a grant on the east side of the St. John between the Keswick and Mactaquac rivers. They had built a house there, their memorial stated, and made considerable improvements. They, therefore, petitioned for a grant of the land, "particularly as their Regimental Block is exceeding bad."⁷¹

That their Regimental Block was "exceeding bad" was if anything an understatement. The King's American Regiment had been assigned to Block 6, situated on the west bank of the St. John, roughly between the Shogomoc and Eel Rivers. The land, hilly and rough and strewn with rocks and great boulders, was largely quite unsuitable for farming, except for a few isolated stretches of intervale. It had been expected that each block would be settled by the regiment to which it had been granted, but as early as January 1785 it became apparent that the plan was not succeeding. Five of the regiments had refused their blocks outright, dissatisfied with the location or the quality of the land or both. This meant that the land in those areas was vacant. In addition,

⁷¹Land Records, LB14, M/f Reel 76, PANB.

many of the soldiers refused their grants in their regimental block, as did Benjamin and Abijah, for instance. This meant that there were vacant lots in the various blocks, and soldiers from other regiments could apply for them. The lot applied for by Benjamin and Abijah of the King's American Regiment was in the block assigned to the Guides and Pioneers.⁷²

The Ingraham brothers were highly recommended by Major John Coffin, who noted that "the above Petitioners are men of good character and useful members of society."⁷³ Benjamin and Abijah, both having been promoted fairly early in the war, were well known to all the officers of the Regiment and could count on them for references when the need arose. In applying for this grant they were abiding by the rules set up by the Council of the province "for the orderly and expeditious settlement of the Province of New Brunswick."

The rules were precise and specific. First, in an effort to prevent favouritism and unfairness, it was specified that the applicant must present his petition in writing to no other official than the Provincial Secretary for consideration by the Governor-in-Council. Secondly, just to ensure that granted lands were not left lying idle because the grantees could not be located, the petitioner must register his name and address so that he could be notified immediately when his

⁷²For fuller treatment of the land grants see Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, pp. 178-184, 206-208.

⁷³Land Records, LB14, M/f Reel 76, PANB.

grant was made. Detailed instructions for drawing lots were given in the third regulation. There had been numerous complaints from disgruntled Loyalists who had drawn blanks when there was supposed to be a lot for every participant in the drawing or who had drawn a number which did not correspond with the numbers on the lots when they reached the neighbourhood. The fourth regulation required that public notice be given, when there was to be a drawing of a certain number of lots, to an equal number of men whose names appeared on the top of the register. The man himself, or his deputy, had to appear at the drawing, supervised by the deputy surveyor and several trustees appointed by the Governor. As soon as possible after the drawing, the deputy surveyor was to show the grantee his grant.

Another mistake that was sometimes made was to grant the same lot to more than one person, resulting in confusion, inconvenience, and resentment. To circumvent this sort of bungling a petitioner who had received conditional approbation for a particular lot was required to publish the substance of his petition for three consecutive weeks in the newspapers and in the settlement where the land was located. Thus any person with a prior claim could be heard before the Governor-in-Council before a warrant of survey was issued. Five shillings was the agreed and set price for the entire publication. In this way once a petitioner had received a warrant of survey he could be sure that no one else could claim his land.

A further source of confusion was the fact that some

lots had been granted by the Government of Nova Scotia before the creation of the new province of New Brunswick. The Government at Fredericton adopted a simple method of getting the records sorted and straightened out. The onus was placed upon the grantee to transmit copies of warrants of survey to the Provincial Secretary without delay. Consequently, they soon had a record of what land had been granted and what was still vacant.⁷⁴

The last regulation explains how Benjamin and Abijah came to be applying for grants on the Keswick and later in Queensbury rather than in the block above the Shogomoc assigned to their regiment. It stated that battalions or companies dissatisfied with their allotments might apply for unoccupied and ungranted lots in the blocks assigned to other regiments.⁷⁵ Hence the brothers petitioned for a lot in the trace assigned to the Guides and Pioneers.

It was less than a month before Abijah, with his friend Samuel Crawford, was petitioning for more land farther up the St. John in Block 3. Their memorial stated

That Benjamin Ingraham & Abijah Ingraham applied to your Excellency by Memorial, dated the 18th of May Past, for a Tract of Land situated in Block No. 3 which your Excellency was pleased to promise them if it should be found to be vacant by the surveyor, but

⁷⁴ See Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, pp. 177-178; Margaret Ellis, "Settling the Loyalists in Nova Scotia," Canadian Historical Association, Report of the Annual Meeting, 1934, pp. 105-107.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

there being not a sufficiency for them and the subscriber Samuel Crawford, they have since that period found a tract of unlocated land situated in Block No. 3, which being burnt in the front and condemned and left out by the Corps of Guides & Pioneers; but your Excellency's Memorialists finding it to be tillable and good land back of that which is burnt have improved and planted thereon.--

That your Memorialists humbly beg leave to inform your Excellency that the said Land bounds on the West side of Lot No. 10, belonging to Michael Ryans and on the east side by burnt and condemned lands.

Your Excellency's Memorialists, therefore humbly solicit you will be pleased to order a grant of 300 Acres of said land to be given to them, that being the proportion that Government allows to Abijah Ingraham as Serjeant and Samuel Crawford as Private of the Disbanded Troops. . . .⁷⁶

The land allowance referred to by the petitioners was that of 200 acres to every disbanded non-commissioned officer and 100 to every private, exclusive of their entitlement in right of their families.⁷⁷ Abijah thus was entitled to 200 acres and Samuel Crawford to 100, totalling 300 as requested. In addition each head of a family was entitled to 100 acres and an extra 50 for each member of his family. The Governor-in-Council was empowered further to grant up to 1,000 acres to a person "of Ability to Improve that Quantity" on condition of the payment of ten shillings per hundred acres.⁷⁸ Abijah, unmarried at the time, according to the regulations would be able to claim a total of 300 acres. Benjamin, however, with a wife and three children would be entitled to 500.

⁷⁶ Memorial of Abijah Ingraham and Samuel Crawford, 13 June 1785, Land Records, LB14, M/f Reel 76, PANB.

⁷⁷ Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, p. 173.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 172.

The request of Abijah Ingraham and his friend was honoured on 22 August. The Journal of the Proceedings Respecting the Allotment of Land recorded on that date that they "may be registered in their order for their proportion of Land in the vacant Lots above No. 18."⁷⁹ An entry for 3 October stated that Abijah Ingraham was to be registered in No. 19 and Benjamin Ingraham in No. 18 in Block³.⁸⁰ Actually Benjamin was granted Lot No. 105 of 40 acres and Lot. No. 107 of 155. Abijah received Lot No. 87 containing 206 acres; he was not separated from his friend for Crawford was on the next lot of 171 acres. By the fall of 1785 the Ingraham brothers were on their way to becoming substantial landholders in the new province of New Brunswick.

Not as landholders but as male citizens over the age of twenty-one resident in the province more than three months they had the right to vote in the first provincial election.⁸¹ Carleton had postponed the election to the last possible moment, not wishing to risk the limitations which an elected Assembly might place upon his plans for the organization of the province. "I think on all accounts," he had written to the Secretary of State, "it will be best that the American Spirit of innovation should not be nursed among the Loyal

⁷⁹Journals of the Proceedings Respecting the Allotment of Land," RG10, RS107, Vol. 4, p. 34, PANB.

⁸⁰Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 4.

⁸¹Carleton to Sydney, 25 October 1785, PRO CO 188/3, quoted in MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 59.

Refugees by the introduction of Acts of Legislature, for purposes to which by the Common Law and the practice of the best regulated Colonies, the Crown alone is acknowledged to be competent."⁸² Carleton expected the newly elected body merely to ratify the executive ordinances which he had already put into effect. His work almost complete, he issued writs for the election in October 1785, calling for universal manhood suffrage only as an expedient to the unsettled and incomplete state of the land grants.⁸³ "All males of full age," read Sheriff John Murray's notice in the newspaper, "inhabitants of the county of York, that have resided three months in the province of New Brunswick, are entitled to their votes on this occasion."⁸⁴

In Saint John the election reached almost violent proportions. In spite of the deprecations of many of the Loyalists and Carleton's dislike of partisanship, something very much akin to "a violent party spirit" developed. The Opposition, led by the lawyer Elias Hardy, was directed against the Loyalist agents and Government officers. Since the agents and many of the officials were New Englanders and

⁸²Quoted in Clark, Movements of Political Protest in Canada, p. 136. Chapter Nine of this book is a good account of political dissidence in New Brunswick in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

⁸³Fisher, "The Grandmother's Story."

⁸⁴The Royal Gazette & New Brunswick Advertiser, 15 November 1785.

the mass of the Saint John Loyalists were from New York and the other middle colonies, the election campaign developed into a conflict between Yankees and Yorkers. The Lower Covers, so designated because of their place of abode, nominated their own slate of opposition candidates. They charged that all the Government plums had gone to those who hailed from the "meridian of Boston" as the result of their "superior cunning." Stewart MacNutt described the struggle as one of "government men against those who had not been admitted to privilege, to a degree New Englanders against New Yorkers, patricians against plebeians, Upper Covers against Lower Covers."⁸⁵

When violence broke out Carleton moved the poll, only to worsen the situation. The mob, moving to the new poll,

after the most violent threats against those who were in the house, wounding several gentlemen who defended the passage at the door, and in vain endeavouring to force the door, made a general attack upon the house with stones and brickbats and soon demolished all the windows. The gentlemen within, fearing immediate destruction to themselves, then returned the stones and brickbats upon the mob, who began to grow very violent and outrageous. By this means and the seasonable interposition of the troops from Fort Howe in aid of the civil magistrates, the mob was soon dispersed.⁸⁶

The Lower Covers got the most votes, but they lost the election as a result of the machinations of Sheriff Oliver in his recount after the disturbance.

The election in Fredericton was, by contrast, very

⁸⁵ MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 61.

⁸⁶ The Royal Gazette & New Brunswick Advertiser, 15 November 1785.

quiet. The voters elected as their representatives for York County Daniel Murray, Isaac Atwood, Edward Stelle, and Daniel Lyman without any unpleasant incident. "This election," The Royal Gazette & New Brunswick Advertiser reported, "has been conducted with perfect decency, propriety, and good humour;-- although near eight hundred men were assembled on this occasion, there was no appearance of riot, no violence, or insult; --The electors endeavoured by every means in their power to evince their respect for their candidates."⁸⁷

Quite a different story from Saint John, but then Fredericton was quite a different town. While the former had been settled by Loyalist refugees, many of whom had been infected with "the American Spirit of innovation" which filled Carleton with such apprehension, the latter's population was comprised almost entirely of disbanded officers and soldiers, all of whom had been for many years conditioned to military discipline. The York County candidates were not Government officials; they were highly respected regimental officers. The York County men merely elected the officers of their choice, one from each of four different regiments--Lieutenant Stelle of the New Jersey Volunteers, Captain Lyman of the Prince of Wales American Regiment, Major Murray of the King's American Dragoons, and Captain Atwood of the King's American Regiment. The election seems to have been a happy occasion, with the opportunity for fellowship and fun.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

Benjamin and Abijah Ingraham were able to renew old acquaintances and talk with friends whom they seldom saw.

Although election day was quiet, it would be wrong to assume that there was never any rowdiness or vice in Fredericton. Mary Fisher referred to "some wicked fellows from the States" who used to disturb the other settlers. "They procured liquor at Vanhorne's tavern," she said, "and drank heavily. They lived in a log cabin which soon became a resort for bad characters."⁸⁸ However, New Brunswickers were not to be permitted to break the law with impunity. A few months after the arrival of Carleton, in February 1785 to be exact, Benjamin Marston wrote in a letter to Winslow: "The Supreme Court sat last week and have condemned three poor Devils to the Gallows--some others to a temporary imprisonment & others to the Whipping Post--so the work of Reformation is begun among us."⁸⁹

Marston's report referred to a Court sitting in Saint John, but Court sat occasionally in Fredericton, too. At the time there was no one else to "work the Reformation" of the people. No clergyman had as yet arrived or even been assigned, the nearest being the Reverend John Beardsley of Maugerville. But that was soon to be righted--on 2 October 1785 the

⁸⁸Fisher, "The Grandmother's Story."

⁸⁹Benjamin Marston to Edward Winslow, 11 February 1785, Winslow Papers, MG23, D2, PAC. Marston is referring to Saint John, not Fredericton, in this letter.

Reverend Doctor Samuel Cooke arrived in Saint John, followed soon after by his family "in a weak and sickly state" after their voyage across the Atlantic. Governor Carleton signified that Dr. Cooke should go with him to Fredericton when he moved the seat of government there in the spring.⁹⁰ The Ingrahams, faithful church-goers in the past, were delighted with the news--there would be a parson to christen little Ira.

Jerusha was kept busy during the winter of 1785-1786 with her new baby. Hannah and John went to school "up to St. Ann's on snowshoes." They went the next winter, too, and Hannah hauled John on a handsled. She explained why.

My brother John had chopped his toe off when cutting wood with father; he was a big boy then. Our house was not much more than a hut, only one room, and little Ira then was just waddling alone, and always meddling (as children will) and used to touch his brother's lame bandaged toe, and so father said if I could haul John to school he could give me another quarter's schooling, and I did. But, oh, it was hard work through the deep snow, and once it was so heavy that the poor boy got his toe froze before we reached the school, and that put back the healing, for mother had to poultice it, etc., and it was a bad piece of work for him.

Occasionally Hannah had help from her neighbours, the Clements boys, but not often.⁹¹ It was a fair distance from the top of Nigger Hill to the school in the Ackerman cottage on the same lot as the Golden Ball Inn, near the corner of present-

⁹⁰ SPG Records, The Journals, 1701-1850, MG17, 1, Vol. 24, p. 260, PAC.

⁹¹ Tippet, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

day University Avenue and Waterloo Row.⁹² But the Ingraham children were not accustomed to luxury.

Along with the school, other amenities began to take shape in the new provincial capital. In 1784 Nehemiah Beckwith built a scow to navigate between Fredericton and Saint John; it was a very dependable means of transportation, for it could sail with a fair wind, be poled along the shore or rowed in deep water in a calm.⁹³ In July 1786 the schooner Four Sisters began to ply regularly between the two towns.

"She will sail," the announcement read, "from the harbour of St. John every Tuesday morning, wind and weather permitting."⁹⁴

The Registrar's office for York County was established "at the house of Garrett Clopper, in Fredericton, where attendance will daily be given."⁹⁵ A post office was instituted at the residence of Stephen Jarvis.⁹⁶ Ackerman and Vanderbeck had built the British American Coffee House, in which Governor Carleton lived during his visit in the winter of 1785 and which he took over when he moved to Fredericton in October

⁹²See Hill, Fredericton, New Brunswick, British North America, p. 47.

⁹³MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 85.

⁹⁴The Royal Gazette & New Brunswick Advertiser, 14 July 1786.

⁹⁵Ibid., 18 July 1786.

⁹⁶Maxwell, The History of Central New Brunswick, p. 82. The post office was on present-day Waterloo Row.

1786.⁹⁷ They immediately started on the construction of the Golden Ball Inn on Lot 9, at the upper end of present-day Waterloo Row. Situated on the next lot below and in full swing by 1787 was Gabriel Van Horne's inn, The Royal Oak. McLeod's Inn, where the ferry landed, was only a few doors away. A log jail had been built just below the mouth of the Nigger Hill road--it was kept by the town's first sheriff and jailer, Samuel Buchanan. Fredericton was growing--the announcement that it was to be the capital added impetus to its growth.

When Governor Carleton arrived in the capital in October 1786, he took up residence in the British American Coffee House on the lower end of Queen Street. Ackerman and Vanderbeck moved their business to the Golden Ball and set to work immediately on the construction of the Mansion House, which was to be the Governor's official residence. Although the Legislative Assembly continued to convene in Saint John until 1788, the Council moved to Fredericton at the same time as the Governor and held its meetings in an upper room of the British American Coffee House.⁹⁸ All of this was good for Benjamin Ingraham; he soon worked up a business, supplying the Governor and Chief Justice Ludlow and others with farm

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 141. This building stood on Queen Street, roughly on the site of the present Playhouse.

⁹⁸For further details on early Fredericton see Maxwell, The History of Central New Brunswick and Hill, Fredericton, New Brunswick, British North America.

produce.⁹⁹

But eggs, meat, and vegetables require land for their production, and to the acquisition of more land Benjamin Ingraham bent his energy in 1786. On 18 June he petitioned the Governor for additional land in Queensbury, Lot 108, adjoining on the upriver side of the lot he had already been granted.¹⁰⁰ This 200-acre farm had been abandoned by William Charles, its original grantee, and Benjamin knew that he had returned permanently to the United States. It took a little time to clear the legal details. On 23 March 1787 Council noted that "lot No. 108 next above the Petitioner's Lot is registered to William Charles."¹⁰¹ Here the matter rested officially for a few months. In the meantime on 8 February 1787 Benjamin bought Lot 109 consisting of 200 acres from Thomas Sanderson.¹⁰² On 9 November of the same year his title to Lots 105 and 107 was officially registered.¹⁰³ A year passed and he had heard nothing more about Lot 108--he memorialized for it a second time on 28 June 1788, stating

That the lot No. 108 in Block 3 Having Bin Rejestured to William Charles who is Removed to the States and

⁹⁹Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

¹⁰⁰Land Petitions, L31, M/f Reel 174, PANB.

¹⁰¹Ibid.

¹⁰²York County Registry of Deeds, M/f Reel RY01, PANB.
He paid £6 5s.

¹⁰³Register and Index of Lots Drawn by Loyalists, MG9, A5, Vol. 1-7, pp. 97-98, PAC.

at his departure left the care of the said lot to your Memorialist who haveing made considerable improvements and has a crop now their on has Rec^d a Letter from William Charles that a Quaints him that he may have the Lott: Your memorialist humbly solicits your Excellency will be pleased to Grant him the Lott and your Memorialist will Ever Pray.

This memorial did the trick; Lot 108 was registered in Benjamin's name on 28 July 1788.¹⁰⁴ Benjamin Ingraham had done well. In less than five years since he had been forced to quit his 92-acre farm in New Concord he had acquired four farms in Queensbury--Lots 105, 107, 108, and 109, totalling nearly 600 acres of land.

His life in Fredericton was a success, too, in spite of the surveys and re-surveys the town underwent, which must have caused Benjamin and his family some anxiety. As has already been noted, the first Loyalists settled in the area below Sunbury Street, because the land above was reserved for the proposed town. Surveyor-General Morris's instructions to Dugald Campbell on 21 April 1784 had stated in regard to the settlers already there that "you are to do the best you can to accommodate them without breaking in too much upon the figure of the town."¹⁰⁵ Whatever reassurance this clause may have given the inhabitants was swept away in the winter of 1785 when St. Ann's was selected as the capital and a new survey ordered. This survey, discussed earlier in this chapter, had no ill effects on the people below Sunbury Street,

¹⁰⁴ Land Petitions, No. 289, M/f Reel L31, PANB.

¹⁰⁵ Quoted in Maxwell, The History of Central New Brunswick, p. 98.

perhaps partly because Monson Hayt was a member of the Board of Trustees. In the Heddon Grant each seems to have been given the land he originally settled on, and Benjamin received title to his twenty-one acres comprising Lot 16. This, however, did not quite satisfy him, and he sharpened his quill again. On 8 November 1788 he memorialized the Governor once more.

The Memorial of Benjamin Ingraham Most humbly Sheweth That your Memorialist having obtained a Lot of Land and Having made considerable improvements and has been at Expenditure in Buildings therein humbly solicits your Excellency would please to allow him an addition of Fifty Acres of the unlocated land on the South and Rear of the lot whereon he now lives. . .¹⁰⁶

He was granted sixty-three acres in the area requested, adjoining his lot.¹⁰⁷

In the year 1786 another opportunity for improvement offered itself to Benjamin Ingraham and he took advantage of it. In the latter part of the year the Commissioners whose duty it was to take evidence regarding the losses of the Loyalists arrived in New Brunswick. The Commission appointed by Act of Parliament for inquiring into the Losses and Services of the American Loyalists had been set up in England in 1783 and began its hearings in that country. However, it was soon realized that the bulk of the Loyalists were in America and lacked both the time and the money to go to London to

¹⁰⁶Land Papers, LB14, M/f Reel 76, PANB.

¹⁰⁷Ibid.

make their representations. Consequently, two members of the Commission came to America and between 1785 and 1789 heard cases in Halifax, Saint John, Quebec, and Montreal.¹⁰⁸ The two who came to America were Jeremy Pemberton and Thomas Dundas.

Benjamin had heard of the Commission before, but it is hard to say just when he first knew that members of it were hearing cases in British North America. Quite possibly he or one of his friends saw the notice in the newspaper.

Office of American Claims
City of St. John, 15 Nov., 1786

The Commissioners of American Claims do hereby give notice to all persons who have lodged claims under the act of parliament passed in 1783, and who have not hitherto been examined by the Commissioners upon these claims, that their attendance is required at this office, as soon as possible, with the necessary witnesses to prove their losses and services.

Those persons who have lodged claims under the Act of Parliament passed in 1785 are desired not to attend until they receive further notice.

By order of the commissioners,
Peter Hunter, Sec'y¹⁰⁹

Whether Benjamin "received further notice" or not, he appeared before the Commissioners on 10 March 1787. His reason for not making his claim sooner was explained in his memorial. At the conclusion of the war he had come to this province with his regiment and had understood that Commissioners

¹⁰⁸For details see John Eardley-Wilmot, Historical View of the Commission for Enquiring into the Losses, Services and Claims of the American Loyalists (London: 1815, reprint ed., Boston: Gregg Press, 1972).

¹⁰⁹The Royal Gazette & New Brunswick Advertiser, 23 November 1786.

had been appointed to examine into the claims of the Loyalists, but, having a large family to support and insufficient money to bear the expense of a trip to England, he was unable to prefer his claims.¹¹⁰ Accordingly, Benjamin and brother Abijah, who was to act in the capacity of his witness, set out for Saint John in March 1787. Since there is normally plenty of snow in New Brunswick in March and the ice never runs in the St. John River until April, the journey would be made on snowshoes on the river, the winter highway. Arduous at best, the ninety-mile trip would require several days.

Benjamin was sworn before the Commissioners on 10 March. In addition to his memorial, he was able to produce his discharge paper and the deeds for the several parcels of land he had bought in New Concord. He also "produced Affidavit from Alexander Montgomery, sworn at Gagetown before W. Tyng, that he was in the Country when Committee seized the Estate of the Claimant, they first hired the Land and forbid his Wife to meddle with the Stock." He showed them as well the permit Jerusha had received from three of the Commissioners in King's District, permitting her "to continue at her Habitation, which Claimant says was his House." Another document displayed was a letter from Captain Clements "speaking very favourably of the Claimant's Conduct and that he was universally esteemed by the officers of the Regiment." Benjamin

¹¹⁰ Memorial of Benjamin Ingraham, 10 March 1787, Claims of the American Loyalists, Series I, MG14, A012, PAC.

seemed able to answer all questions satisfactorily.

Abijah, sworn next, corroborated his brother's testimony. He said he was on the farm after his brother went away and took care of the family. "The Committee seized the Estate," he continued, "they first rented the Farm, have since sold it. Sold the Stock at Vendu. . ."¹¹¹

Benjamin's first trip to Saint John was a success. In compensation for the loss of his New York property the Commissioners allowed him the sum of £152. However, they calculated that he had already received £60 16s., presumably the estimated value of his land grants and any other benefits he may have already been given. The final balance due was £91 4s. There is no record to indicate exactly when this amount was paid.¹¹²

The brothers returned home, Benjamin to Fredericton and Abijah to his farm in Queensbury. Benjamin obviously spent at least part of his summers in Queensbury, too, working on his land there. Evidence of this is given in his memorials; furthermore, in order to keep it, he was required to make certain improvements annually. John, no doubt, accompanied him at least part of the time; born in 1773 and a big boy according to Hannah, he would by this time be

¹¹¹Claims of the American Loyalists, Series I, MG14, A012, Vol. 26, pp. 25-27, PAC.

¹¹²Great Britain, PRO, A012, Vol. 109, 180/1407, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.. The records of the decisions of the Commission are supposedly at PAC, but the microfilm is completely illegible.

capable of a fair amount of work.

In their travels on the river the Ingrahams, like the other settlers, were always conscious of the Indians and always a little uneasy in their presence. It was part of their American frontier heritage. In New Concord they had had the Mohicans on one side and the Five Nations on the other. Albany itself was a frontier town, dependent in its infancy on the fur trade, the gateway to western New York by way of the Mohawk and to Canada via the Hudson-Champlain-Richelieu system. But, despite the settlers' anxiety, the New Brunswick Indians caused them very little trouble. James Hannay wrote in his History of New Brunswick that "they had never given the settlers much trouble and at no time, in the history of the province, has there ever been anything like a state of war between them and the whites." But it was natural, he thought, "that difficulties should arise and sometimes they assumed a serious aspect."¹¹³ Stewart MacNutt expressed a view similar to Hannay's. "The Malecites," he wrote, "were scarcely capable of formidable insurrection. Yet it is fairly certain that they constituted a considerable nuisance. Their attitudes of braggadocio and frequent threats to take up arms were quite sufficient to intimidate settlers whose homesteads were located a mile or more from those of their neighbours."¹¹⁴ And from a Loyalist herself we hear:

¹¹³ Hannay, The History of New Brunswick, 1: 204.

¹¹⁴ MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 78.

"For several years we lived in dread of the Indians, who were sometimes very bold."¹¹⁵

The Ingrahams were certainly not a mile from their neighbours, yet Hannah recounted an anecdote which illustrated not only her apprehension but also her resourcefulness and courage.

One day when I was alone in the house, except the baby, I saw a big Indian coming up the hill to the door; I was terribly afraid at first, for I knew he would perhaps stop all day and eat up everything in the house, so I ran to the cradle and caught up the baby and wrapped him in a quilt and went to the door just as the Indian got there, so I said, "Have you had the smallpox?" hushing the baby all the while, and he darted away as if he had been shot.¹¹⁶

Indians were a common sight in and about eighteenth-century Fredericton. "There were plenty of Indians coming to sell furs in those days," Hannah recalled. "I've counted forty canoes going up the river all at one time. They used to come to sell their furs to Peter Fraser. . . ."¹¹⁷

Even Governor Carleton showed concern about the Indians, stating that the settlers' fear of them impeded settlement. Stewart MacNutt suggested that the Governor was merely using the Indians' presence to justify "the concentration of force at Fredericton and the establishment of the northern posts."¹¹⁸ If this was his motive, Carleton was

¹¹⁵Fisher, "The Grandmother's Story."

¹¹⁶Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

¹¹⁷Ibid.

¹¹⁸MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 78.

successful. His brother, now Lord Dorchester and his superior officer as governor-general of British North America, wrote to him on 3 January 1787. "I received your letter No. 1 on the 25th ult.," Dorchester said, "by which I learn that the Settlers on the upper part of the River St. John are alarmed by the menaces of the Indians in that District. The measures you have taken to enable the Settlers to defend themselves, I very much approve of."¹¹⁹

The Indians were somewhat excited over the Harbord and Nelson incident of the previous summer. William Harbord and David Nelson were discharged soldiers from the Queen's Rangers, both highly respected farmers living on grants in Queensbury. Early one Saturday morning the two friends went down to the river to fish. Soon their peace was disturbed by the barking of dogs near where Nelson's hogs were pastured. When they saw two dogs gnawing at a hog which they had killed, they fired their rifles, and one dog fell dead. When a thorough search failed to locate the rest of the hogs, the two men surmised that the owner of the dogs had made off with the whole herd. Returning to the river bank, they saw two Indians in a canoe about a quarter of a mile up stream; they felt certain the Indians had the pigs. They gesticulated to the Indians to come back, but they, in turn angry at the loss of their dog, merely pushed their canoe out from shore and

¹¹⁹ Lord Dorchester to Governor Carleton, 5 January 1787, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 338.

paddled away. Harbord suggested that they fire their muskets over the Indians' heads, that this action might frighten them into returning with the hogs. Both fired, but to no avail; the Indians only paddled harder. Nelson fired a second shot, with no intention of killing or wounding, he afterwards maintained. But this shot was fatal--Pierre Benoit toppled over, dead. The canoe kept on going. Benoit's squaw took her husband's body to a nearby island. Harbord and Nelson "then went in search of the hogs and found all but one, which [they] still supposed was in the canoe."¹²⁰

The Indians demanded justice. The two were arrested and examined on the following Wednesday, 24 May 1786, before Judge Isaac Allen and Edward Winslow, justices of the peace for York County. They did not deny the shooting but attempted to excuse themselves on the grounds that it was an accident, that they had had no intent to kill. Both were accused and ordered to stand trial for the murder of Pierre Benoit.

It was an anxious time for Indians and Loyalists alike. The Malecites viewed the death of Benoit as murder and were determined that Harbord and Nelson should pay for their crime. To the Loyalists it looked more like an unfortunate accident, the result of carelessness perhaps, but still an accident. At the same time they feared that any leniency towards the two might bring the wrath of the Indians

¹²⁰ William Odber Raymond, The First Governor of New Brunswick and the Acadians of the St. John Valley (Ottawa: The Royal Society of Canada, 1914), pp. 141-142.

down upon them all. One can imagine that the Harbord-Nelson case was the main topic of conversation whenever neighbours met.

The Malecites, on their part, as Stewart MacNutt put it, held Fredericton in a "mild state of siege."¹²¹ They were encamped, multitudes of them, or so it seemed, about the house of Judge Isaac Allen, a few miles above Fredericton near the Indian village. Edward Winslow described the situation. "The whole of the Indians," he said,

are encamped around his house, and their rendezvous has already distressed his family and made them unhappy. He had lately made a compact with them for a lot of land, and they think they have a right to call upon him whenever they please. This event has increased their familiarity, and I believe if they had the idea he possessed the authority to decide in the present case, they would press him to a peremptory decision, and if it was not agreeable to them, they might render the situation of the family very uncomfortable.¹²²

In order to ease somewhat the predicament of Judge Allen, Winslow urged the "absolute necessity of the attendance of the Chief Justice" at the trial.

Winslow elaborated still further upon the ticklish situation.

The Indians on the one hand are clamorous for an instant decision. The multitude (I mean the people of the country) cannot reconcile themselves to the idea, that two men of fair character should be sacrificed to satisfy the barbarous claims of a set of savages. In this situation you will naturally suppose that we

¹²¹ MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 78.

¹²² Winslow to Chipman, 25 May 1786, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, pp. 332-333.

have an arduous task to keep them quiet. We have assured both parties that the men will be fairly tried, and if guilty they will be punished. We have told them that the Chief Justice must attend.¹²³

No time was wasted. The court opened in the British American Coffee House on Queen Street on 13 June 1786, with Chief Justice Ludlow and Judge Allen on the Bench. Ward Chipman, the solicitor-general, conducted the prosecution. There was no counsel for the defence--prisoners on trial for capital offences were not permitted by law to have counsel on their behalf.

The prisoners were found guilty of murder as charged and sentenced to hang on the twenty-third of the month. The grand jury presented a petition on behalf of Harbord, who, it had come out in the trial, had not fired the shot which killed Benoit. David Nelson was hanged, presumably at the gaol just down the hill from the Ingraham house, on 23 June 1786, only a month after his innocent fishing trip had turned into a hideous nightmare. William Harbord was reprieved.

"Poor Harbord has been out of his senses," one observer remarked. "When told he was reprieved, he replied he had suffered what was worse than death, and was perfectly indifferent about his execution."¹²⁴ He returned to his home in Queensbury but moved away soon after, it is thought to Upper

¹²³ Ibid.

¹²⁴ Jonathan Sewell to (?), 6 June 1786, quoted in Joseph W. Lawrence, The Judges of New Brunswick and Their Times (Saint John: 1907), p. 62.

Canada.¹²⁵

The Province's newspaper, like others of its day, could not resist the temptation to moralize on the execution.

This unfortunate man was a disbanded soldier of the late regiment of Queen's Rangers, and his fate is more a subject of regret, because, having served his King and country with credit as a good soldier, he has since been distinguished for his industriousness as a settler on the land assigned him by the government. In an unguarded moment, however, he appears to have forgotten the sacred regard which he owed to the laws of God and his country.--he was tempted, on a trifling provocation, to fire upon and killed one of the native Indians--and, being clearly convicted of the murder, he has now paid the forfeit which the impartial voice of JUSTICE demanded.

His trial (which was attended by a numerous concourse of the inhabitants) was conducted with the greatest solemnity--the tension excited very apparently the deepest concern and sympathy in all who were present; but a decided spirit of acquiescence in the due course of justice was at the same time equally remarkable. . . .

The same spirit of duty and good order again appeared on the melancholy day of the execution.¹²⁶

There was one conspicuous absence among the spectators who watched David Nelson hang. That was the Reverend John Beardsley, rector of Maudersville and the nearest Anglican clergyman at the time. "Parson Beardsley did not think proper," Jonathan Sewell commented, "to attend the unfortunate Nelson the day of his execution, although he was, as you remember, particularly requested."¹²⁷

¹²⁵Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, p. 189.

¹²⁶The Royal Gazette & New Brunswick Advertiser, 27 June 1786.

¹²⁷Jonathan Sewell to (?), 6 July 1786, quoted in Lawrence, The Judges of New Brunswick and Their Times, p. 64. For further details on the Harbord-Nelson case see MacNutt,

Hopefully, Parson Cooke might have taken a different view of what was proper and attempted to provide the wretched Nelson with the spiritual comfort he needed in his last few minutes. The Reverend Doctor Samuel Cooke arrived in Fredericton on 13 August 1786. Finding it impossible to obtain suitable quarters in the town, he purchased the François Cormier farm in Douglas, about two miles above town on the opposite side of the river. It was only a log house, he had reported to his superiors in the SPG in London, consisting of two rooms and a garret, but he would be contented with it until he could find better. He had sent his son on ahead to supervise the making of some badly needed repairs.¹²⁸

Parson Cooke wasted no time; he arrived on Saturday, and he held his first service the next day in the King's Provision Warehouse. Accommodations were somewhat crude at that first service, and the sixty or seventy in the congregation had to stand or sit on the floor. Benjamin and his family must have been delighted at the opportunity to attend church service again--the Gideon Bostwick days seemed so far in the dim past. Soon the parishioners fitted the warehouse up with "benches, a few pews, a reading desk, and glazed it, and put in a couple of stoves."¹²⁹ Parson Cooke reported at the end

New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 78; Hannay, The History of New Brunswick, 1: 205-206; Raymond, The First Governor of New Brunswick, pp. 130-131.

¹²⁸ SPG Documents, The Journals, 1701-1850, 29 July 1786, MG17, 1, Vol. 24, p. 325, PAC.

¹²⁹ Ibid., 10 January 1787; Vol. 24, p. 399.

of the year that his congregation rarely exceeded a hundred people, that he had had fourteen communicants on Christmas Day, the first time he had administered the Lord's Supper. His report went on to say that he had "baptized 23 white children 3 Black infants, and 1 white adult--married 5 couples, buried 1 person."¹³⁰

Hannah Ingraham described the burial in her reminiscences. ". . . my brother John and I saw the first burying there ever was in the graveyard. It was a soldier, an officer, and we heard the drums beating while we were picking berries and we ran to see it."¹³¹ Little Ira was one of the "23 white children baptized." On his baptismal day Hannah cooked the dinner. Captain Clements had given Benjamin a joint of beef in return for his help in butchering a cow, and Hannah got the opportunity to cook it for their guest, Parson Cooke. "That was the first beef I ever roasted," she said. "I had a hard piece of work cooking it in a dutch oven . . . Parson Cooke was coming over to baptize my little brother Ira that day and to dine with us. . ."¹³² The Parson soon became a great favourite of the Ingraham family.

Services continued in the King's Provision Warehouse, but plans for building a church soon got under way. In 1787 the Government made a grant of £500 for that purpose and

¹³⁰Ibid.

¹³¹Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

¹³²Ibid.

appointed a board of trustees (of which Parson Cooke was a member) for its management. The church was to be seventy-two feet long by fifty-two wide, with two tiers of windows, and provision was made for the construction of galleries when and if required. Workmen were engaged, and the work commenced but soon came to a standstill because of a shortage of nails. Parson Cooke, however, was still sanguine about it and expected its completion the following summer.¹³³ But progress was disappointing--the following year he reported that "it goes slowly owing to their building on too large a scale for their finances." He feared "it must remain unfinished, the people being too poor to raise the sum that will be wanting."¹³⁴ By the summer of 1789 the £500 from the Government was practically all spent. The Governor made a generous contribution of £150, but that too was soon gone, and work on the church ceased. In his report of 7 July 1789 the Parson stated that "an addition of 4 Companies of soldiers to the Garrison had obliged him to give up the King's Provision Warehouse and to officiate in the Church although it is in a very unfinished state."¹³⁵

The Fredericton Garrison's rate of growth was, by contrast, healthy. Fredericton had been a garrison town ever since the arrival of the Loyalists. The 54th Regiment was

¹³³SPG Documents, The Journals, 1701-1850, 10 October 1787, MG17, 1, Vol. 25, p. 71, PAC.

¹³⁴Ibid., pp. 106-107.

¹³⁵Ibid., 7 July 1789, p. 219.

stationed there in 1784, most likely housed in the barracks which stretched along present-day Carleton Street, between Queen Street and the river. The garrison was to be seen every day, resplendent in colourful uniforms, drilling on its parade square. It is quite likely it made a much greater impression on Hannah and John that it did on their father.

There is nothing to indicate that either Benjamin or Abijah Ingraham ever had anything more to do with the military after their disbandment, other than perhaps to sell produce to the officers. Their disenchantment was probably general among the former Provincials and may help to explain the failure of all of Carleton's Militia Bills. In Stewart MacNutt's words, "among the remnants of the provincial army there was little left of the spirit of Eutaw Springs and of Ninety-six."¹³⁶

At its second session, in 1787, the New Brunswick Assembly, on the recommendation of the Governor, passed a Militia Bill, requiring all males between the ages of sixteen and fifty to register, and to be mustered and drilled in companies twice a year. Each was to be supplied with a musket, bayonet, and a store of bullets and powder. This was the first militia act; no less than thirteen more were passed in the next thirty years. New Brunswick's militia was anything but a success. The population was scattered and sparse, drill periods usually coincided with busy seasons, and little was

¹³⁶MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 57.

ever accomplished. "Even at a period half a century later," Hannay wrote, "militia training was looked upon as almost a farce and much more likely to produce disorder and drunkenness in the place where it was held, than any display of military efficiency."¹³⁷ Most likely Benjamin and Abijah shared the feelings of their neighbours in regard to the militia and gave it no more attention than necessary. It is interesting, too, that there is no Ingraham listed in the muster roll of the King's New Brunswick Regiment, formed in the next decade, 1793 to be exact. Presumably the brothers felt they had contributed their just share and now wanted merely to get on with the business of living. Perhaps, too, the musket ball which Benjamin still carried in his hip as a memento of South Carolina disqualified him from military service.

The year 1789 is a watershed in modern history. It serves conveniently as well as a watershed in Benjamin Ingraham's life in New Brunswick. He had by this date passed from the stage of pioneer to that of yeoman farmer. He had acquired more than sufficient land to keep himself occupied and his family fed. He was gainfully employed for as many hours of the day as his physical condition could stand, farming his eighty-four acres on Nigger Hill and his six hundred in Queensbury. Whenever he had a spare moment from agriculture, he could do odd jobs for the Governor or the Chief Justice or any one of the many others who were desperate for

¹³⁷Hannay, The History of New Brunswick, 1: 190.

labour. He had friends and good neighbours and a minimum of political strife. There was now a pastor and a church, albeit in an unfinished condition, to satisfy the spiritual needs of himself and his family. John and Hannah were receiving their schooling. And, last but not least, in that year Jerusha presented him with their fourth and last child. Jerusha was forty-one years old. Their daughter Ann was born on 3 September 1789.

"Wise men ne'er sit and wail their woes." Benjamin Ingraham had probably never read Shakespeare, but without realizing it he heeded Carlisle's admonition to Richard II at least partly because he lacked the time to do otherwise. There was no space reserved for leisure in the crowded schedule of the frontiersman--the work was never finished. Sun and rain and spring and fall waited for no one; man became a slave to nature. There was a time and a season for every activity, planting, haymaking, harvesting, and unhappy was the man who failed to recognize that fact. In off seasons there was an eternal round of endless chores--building, repairing, land clearing, stump pulling, wood cutting, furniture making, working for others for money, that scarce commodity on the frontier. Benjamin Ingraham, like the other refugees who made a success of their lives, had no time to "sit and wail their woes" even if they were inclined to do so.

By 1789 the New Brunswick Loyalists seemed to have weathered the crisis. Some, finding their new abode so

hostile or pining so intensely for their old one, had already slipped back into the United States as soon as the regulations and animosity against them had somewhat relaxed. Others, unwilling or unable to return home but dissatisfied with New Brunswick, had succumbed to "Niagara fever" and found their way to new land grants in Upper Canada. But the vast majority remained in New Brunswick and became the founders of the new province. All by this time had received their land grants, and settlement stretched along the River St. John on both banks and on its tributaries all the way from Saint John to Woodstock. There were substantial settlements, too, along the coast of the Bay of Fundy as well as a few on the Miramichi.

The Royal Bounty of rations had ceased and the refugees depended for their subsistence on what they raised on the land they had cleared on their grants. The amount varied, of course, from settler to settler, depending on the resources each had at his disposal. Some had only a few acres under cultivation; others, like Benjamin Ingraham, seem to have cleared a considerable acreage, for he was raising crops both in Fredericton and in Queensbury and selling the excess produce. There was a substantial market for food products, for the province was as yet far from self-sufficient, both Saint John and Fredericton importing most of their provisions.

The years from 1783 to 1789 may be viewed as the period of beginnings for the Loyalists of New Brunswick. Not only did they establish themselves in their new homes but

they also laid the foundations of their social, political, and cultural institutions. They laid out and surveyed their two main towns and the residents of them began erecting houses and commercial buildings. The Governor chose the site of the capital, and he and his Council and the Assembly established themselves there. Carleton set the tone of Fredericton by making it a garrison town as well as the capital while Saint John, the sea-port, became the bustling commercial metropolis. Congregations commenced the construction of churches, educators opened schools, and enterprising citizens set up the rudiments of communication and transportation systems. Some of those concerned about higher education for their children even made preliminary provisions for a university. During this period Benjamin Ingraham's land had taken on a new appearance--so had the whole province. To the optimist it looked as if New Brunswick were already well on the way to becoming "the envy of the American states."

CHAPTER VII

BENJAMIN INGRAHAM: NEW BRUNSWICK FARMER

By 1790 New Brunswick had become a colony of subsistence farmers. The province was plagued by two apparently insoluble problems, a shortage of labour and a shortage of capital. The wide, free distribution of land by the Government was the main cause of the former. Every man who wanted it had all the land he could cultivate and more; few, if any, were disposed to hire out for any length of time to others or to become tenant farmers. To the gentry, land could be more a source of embarrassment than a source of wealth, since it was next to impossible to find men willing to work for them. The conditions of the land grants stated that for every fifty acres considered arable, three must be cultivated. Patrick Campbell wrote of a gentleman he visited on the Nashwaak coming home in the evening "as black as a collier," having spent the entire day with his men "clearing and burning wood off his lands." This, Campbell found, was "the general practice and employment of all the industrious gentleman farmers in this part of the country."¹ Campbell's host was indeed fortunate to have hired men to work with. The few who had

¹Patrick Campbell, Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792 (Edinburgh: 1792, reprint ed., Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1937), p. 44.

tenants usually did not have them very long, and, while they did have them, found them "truculent and mutinous."² It was soon clear that New Brunswick society was not to be built on the concept of great estates presided over by rich landlords. "The dark forests behind the interval and the surliness of a free-spirited people" saw to that.³

The whole thing boiled down to two choices for the patrician landholder--he must either work the land himself or hire free men to do it for him. The former turned out to be an extremely difficult, if not virtually impossible, task. Most of the gentry were equipped with neither the physical strength and stamina nor the skill to work even a manageable acreage by themselves; moreover, a life of hard physical labour was not compatible with their aspirations. Nevertheless, many did work in the fields daily, from sheer necessity. Arthur Nicholson of Queensbury, a former officer in the King's American Dragoons, wrote to Edward Winslow in 1788, pleading for aid in securing a commission in the militia. "I have made every exertion in my power," he said, "to make a living by farming but I find it will not do--I find that unless a man does all his business with his own hands he cannot live by it."⁴

²MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 67.

³Ibid., p. 70.

⁴Nicholson to Winslow, 26 January 1788, Winslow Papers, MG20, D2, Vol. 5, No. 1788-9, PAC.

The other alternative was to hire help, an alternative which presented two insuperable difficulties. First, the shortage of labour meant that wages tended to be high for the limited help that could be found. Perhaps the remark of an English lady residing in Fredericton in 1804 that "a day laborer has 4s. 6d. a day, victuals, half a pint of rum, is extremely idle, and sits over his meat luncheon and grog two hours" is less of an exaggeration than it appears.⁵ Second, Loyalist gentlemen could not find the means to pay hired men, since, as in most colonies under the mercantile system, capital was soon in short supply.

Few of the wealthy Loyalists had managed to salvage much from their American estates, and what little money they had brought with them was soon spent on land improvements and buildings. As the Loyalist clergyman, Jacob Bailey put it, "most of them have expended all their subsistence in building and clearing a little spot on the ground."⁶ Patrick Campbell wrote of the British half-pay officers that

the first object of their care when they entered on the grounds granted them by the government was to build a genteel house, in which they could entertain

⁵The wife of Sir Martin Hunter, Commander of the 104th Regiment, to Elizabeth Bell, 7 August 1804, quoted in Lillian Beckwith Maxwell, "Fredericton, 1804 to 1811, from the Journal of Sir Martin Hunter, Colonel Commanding the 104th Regiment," n.d., unpublished manuscript, NYO/H/76, PANB.

⁶Jacob Bailey to Samuel Peters, 20 June 1785, Fort Anne Papers, No. 1, PANS, quoted in MacKinnon, "The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia, 1783-1791," p. 224.

their friends in becoming stilted; before that convenience was finished, and a small garden cleared, their money was expended, and now, as the only expedient, recourse must be had to the merchant for credit to whose shop they became thrall, until the next term's half-pay fell due. The debt always increasing and no possibility of paying it.

The American gentleman had as a matter of course expected to find lucrative business and government positions available once he got himself established. Trade looked promising at the beginning, and many shared Edward Winslow's optimism that New Brunswick's economy would soon be in keen competition with that of New England. It was expected that the British provinces would inherit the profitable West Indies trade which the Thirteen Colonies would forfeit with their independence. This hope, however, was short-lived. In the 1790s the threat of war with France led the British Government to open the West Indies trade to the United States. The outraged Atlantic colonies soon found that they were unable to compete with their neighbour to the south--exports dwindled to non-existence. Ironically, they found themselves importing from the United States not only lumber but also foodstuffs to provision towns such as Fredericton and Saint John.⁸

The source of capital dried up, large landowners were reduced to straitened circumstances. The fear of escheat hung over them always if their land remained uncultivated.

⁷Campbell, Travels in North America, p. 282.

⁸See MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, Chapter V, "The Politics of Despair," pp. 94-117.

But how could they cultivate it with no help? And even if help could be found where would they find the money to pay them? In order to hang on to their land they found it necessary to resort to all sorts of devices. They were forced to borrow continually to meet their commitments, sometimes with disastrous consequences, as in the case of Isaac Atwood, whose mortgages were foreclosed upon his death in 1809 and his land sold at public auction.⁹ The Barony, Judge John Saunders' large estate in the Parish of Prince William, furnishes a good example of the difficulties and frustrations of the large landowner. By grant and purchase Saunders had acquired the largest estate in the province; yet Peter Fisher, the early historian, writing of the thriving state of the farms of the King's American Dragoons in Prince William, described the estate of John Saunders, just above them, as "a wilderness."¹⁰ "It is clear to myself," wrote Patrick Campbell, "from what I have seen of it, that it is not owing to the land, soil, or climate, that any resident in it does not do well, but totally to his own mismanagement."¹¹

Campbell's simplistic explanation was based, no doubt, upon his observation that the situation of the small farmer was such that he could "live comfortably in New Brunswick

⁹ See below, p. 359.

¹⁰ Quoted in MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 72.

¹¹ Campbell, Travels in North America, p. 284.

regardless of the state of the money supply."¹² The ordinary man became a subsistence farmer; he produced what he needed and hence could survive with very little money. Major Lord Edward Fitzgerald of the 54th Regiment in 1788 described the circumstances of the New Brunswick subsistence farmer. "They imagine themselves poor," he said, "because they have no money, without considering that they do not want it; everything is done by barter, and you will find a farmer well supplied with everything, and yet not have a shilling in money." Fitzgerald believed that any man willing to work could soon have a comfortable farm. The only difficult period was the first eighteen months before the land became productive, but even then it was quite possible to subsist on fish, moose, and pigeons which were so very plentiful. By selling his moose skins, some maple sugar, and by hiring out for a few days at the current high wages, he soon "acquired enough to buy a cow. This, then sets him up; and he is sure in a few years to have a comfortable supply of every necessity of life."¹³

Benjamin Ingraham was just such a farmer as that described by Major Fitzgerald, with the exception that the fish, pigeons, and moose he was able to procure were supplemented

¹²Ann Gorman Condon, "Hope Restored: The Revitalization of Loyalist Politics in New Brunswick," paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association in June 1977, p. 30.

¹³Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, pp. 219-220.

by government rations--true, of course, of all Loyalists. As we have seen, he wasted no time getting grain and other seeds planted in the spring after his arrival. Hannah has told us that he worked for others, such as Chief Justice Ludlow, when he could find the time, and soon had saved enough to buy his first cow. This event Hannah considered important enough to recount many years later in her reminiscences.

Father bought it for 10 guineas of the old inhabitants down at Mougerville. . . . The cow was so poor and starved looking when he bought her that she could hardly walk home. . . . Well, the poor creature was so tired when father got her home that she lay down and he could not make her get up to tie her that night; so next morning she was lost, and father looked and wandered all day searching for her; he had put on her a cow bell, and once he thought he heard a tinkle, but at that same moment a man near started to sharpen a whip-saw and that noise killed all other sounds. Five days father was seeking that cow, and at last he found her with the cattle at Government House; there were no other cows but theirs and the Government folks wondered where the cow had come from, knowing no one had any around there; they had milked her, so she had not gone dry, but she had a cut on her jaw, like an axe had hit her, but the other cows had licked it and it got better.¹⁴

By 1790 Benjamin Ingraham was well enough settled to be the owner of several cows and a yoke of oxen as well as some sheep, pigs, and chickens. By this time, too, he would have finished clearing a sizable portion of his land. He had help, according to Hannah's narrative, during the first few years from men who lodged with him and paid for their lodging with work. But this source of labour disappeared very soon as the community became settled and single men received their

¹⁴Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

grants of land and found wives. In New Brunswick, as on any other agricultural frontier, sons were an economic asset to a man. In this respect Benjamin was not as well off as most --he had only two sons. In the spring of 1790 seventeen-year-old John was mature enough to do a man's work on the farm; even four-year-old Ira would perform a few simple chores. And Hannah, now eighteen years old, was a source of strength to her ailing mother.

Benjamin and John seemed to accomplish a great deal in the busy round of activities that constituted a typical year on the frontier farm. The coming of spring was marked by sugar-making and the spring freshet. As soon as the sun began to melt the snow, they tapped the maple trees on their land. They drilled holes in the tree trunks with an augur and inserted wooden spiles, whittled during the long winter evenings. The sap dripped into troughs scooped out of wood or into wooden casks fashioned by Benjamin, employing the cooper's skill picked up from his father. The more maple sugar they could boil down in the big iron pot over the open outdoor fire, the less imported sugar and molasses they needed to buy at Peter Fraser's store.

Sugar-making more or less coincided with the spring freshet, an important event in the St. John valley because of the danger of flooding. William Cobbett was greatly impressed with the spring break-up in the region. As the ice began to give way near the shores at first, he wrote,

you every now and then heard a crack at many miles distant, like the falling of fifty, or a hundred, or a thousand very lofty timber trees coming down all together from the axes and saws of the fellers. These cracks indicated that the ice had bursted asunder, and was beginning to roll down the great streams made by the melting of the snow; day after day the cracks became louder and more frequent; till by and by the ice came tumbling out of the mouths of creeks into the main river, which, by this time, began to give way itself, till . . . the whole surface of the river moved downwards with accelerating rapidity towards the sea, rising in piles twice as high as the Duke of Wellington's great fine house in Hyde Park Corner, wherever the ice came in contact with an island, of which there were many in the river, until the sun and tide carried the whole away.¹⁵

Cobbett's description, though somewhat elaborate, is basically accurate. Of course, there was variation from year to year, depending upon a number of factors such as the severity of the winter weather, the depth of the snow, and the rapidity at which the ice and snow melted in the spring. A rapid spring thaw after a harsh winter could be disastrous.

The spring of 1798 was a memorable one. The running of the ice was always accompanied by the spring freshet, with annual flooding of such areas as Maugerville and most of the islands, the rich deposit of silt left by the receding water acting like an application of fertilizer. Normal flooding could be exacerbated by a sudden warm spell or the forming of ice jams at the heads of islands or sharp bends in the river. In 1798 in the French Village region just above Fredericton twenty families were obliged to flee their homes. No lives

¹⁵William Reitzel, ed., The Autobiography of William Cobbett (London: Faber & Faber Ltd., 1867), pp. 29-30.

were lost, but cattle, fences, barns, and large quantities of hay were swept away.¹⁶ Edward Winslow wrote of the freshet to his Halifax friend, Sir John Wentworth.

We are just recovering here from one of the most tremendous scenes that ever was beheld, what they call the ice freshet. Major Murray, Mr. Davidson, Col. Ellegood & many others above me lost every animal they owned. Davidson had 60 head of horn'd cattle, Ellegood 50, and Murray 40. . . I escap'd, as I always do, (upon all occasions) by a hair's breadth. The water was up to my front door & 6 feet deep in my cellar. I every moment for 36 hours expected to lose my House. The mountains of ice were 40 feet high directly in my rear--the stoutest of Elms & Maples were broke like pipestems--luckily when the mountains went off they took a direction just to avoid the buildings and came in at the feet of the gardens, where they tore all before 'em. I detach'd my wife and all the Light Infantry part of my family, and stood ready with a boat to run like a lusty fellow for the Highlands. The ridge where the buildings stand was completely insulated. I sav'd all my cattle, and even my sheep and dogs--my fences of course went to the devil.¹⁷

Benjamin Ingraham, his farm high on Forest Hill, had no problems with spring flooding in Fredericton. His land in Queensbury was relatively safe, too, for he had had the foresight to build on high ground. His lots on Bear Island, however, were inundated annually and as a result produced heavy crops of hay. In the words of Patrick Campbell, commenting on the islands and the intervalles, they "yield an astonishing amount of grass without any sort of manure."¹⁸

¹⁶The Royal Gazette & New Brunswick Advertiser, 20 April 1798.

¹⁷Winslow to Sir John Wentworth, 29 April 1798, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, pp. 429-430.

¹⁸Campbell, Travels in North America, p. 34.

Planting time was in late May and early June, quite a change from the early season in New Concord, where it was customary to plant peas on St. Patrick's Day, the seventeenth of March. Benjamin and John planted potatoes and such grain crops as wheat, oats, and rye, and, of course, buckwheat for pancakes. Jerusha and Hannah planted the vegetables in the kitchen garden and tended it and made the soap from the soft water in the spring run-off. The time between sugar-making and cropping was occupied in repairing buildings, clearing land, and perhaps hiring out to the gentry for a few days, as was the period between cropping and haying, which began in normal years about the second week of July. In addition, Benjamin found the time somewhere to build bridges on the new road between Fredericton and Saint John.¹⁹

The soil was rich during the first few years and needed no fertilizer, but there were problems even then with pests. Various blights, rusts, and insects appeared periodically to frustrate the farmer, and towards the end of the century the depredations of the Hessian fly on the wheat and rye crops posed a serious threat to the survival of many. The Reverend Frederick Dibblee, rector of the parish of Woodstock, which included Prince William and Queensbury, wrote in

¹⁹ Lilian Beckwith Maxwell, "The History of Central New Brunswick," Fredericton Daily Gleaner, 18 December 1933. Mrs. Maxwell includes in her article the following quotation: "On January 16, 1789, £24 19s. 4d. were paid to Benjamin Ingraham to defray expenses in building bridges on the road between Fredericton and St. John."

1800 of the havoc wreaked by this pest in Queensbury "upon the wheat and rye, having almost destroyed the crops of the former."²⁰ Unseasonable frosts posed another threat then as now, often with resulting privation. Speaking again of the people of Queensbury, Parson Dibblee reported a few years later, "they are labouring under severe distress for want of bread (the frost last season having almost destroyed the crops) which they can only procure from the American states at a very great price."²¹

Summers were all too short, and harvesting was completed in September. The potatoes and root vegetables were stored in the root cellar under the house, and the grain threshed by hand with the help of a flail. The threshed grain was taken for grinding into flour to nearby Segee's mill on Mill Creek. A hog was butchered and salted down in the pork barrel, and before this apples and green vegetables had been cut and dried and hung from the beams in the kitchen.

The first snow usually fell some time in November, and winter was upon them in earnest by December. Winter was severe, especially for people like the Ingrahams who had been accustomed to a milder climate. However, one wonders if it did not appear worse than it actually was to visitors in the province. "Then the horrible climate," wrote the indefatigable

²⁰ Rev. Frederick Dibblee to SPG Secretary, 24 June 1800, SPG Records, The Journals, 1701-1850, MG17, 1, Vol. 28, p. 97, PAC.

²¹ Same to Same, 6 June 1805, SPG Records, The Journals, 1701-1850, MG17, 1, Vol. 29, p. 128, PAC.

Cobbett,

the land covered with snow seven months of the year; the danger of death if any man be lost in the snow for only ten minutes. Thousands of deaths took place every year from people being what is called frost-bitten. The men going on guard were wrapped up in great cloth coats lined with flannel, their heads covered with caps of the same sort, leaving only an opening for the eyes and nose. I have seen half a dozen men at a time with their noses frost-bitten, which you perceive the minute you see them, by their having become white. The remedy is instantly to rub with snow the part affected; but, very frequently, if this is delayed for only half an hour, mortification takes place; and there are thousands of men in those countries with their hands or feet cut off to save their lives.²²

After forty years' experience with it, Peter Fisher was somewhat more temperate in his description of the colony's weather. "Snow sometimes falls in early November," he wrote,

and lies until late in April, but this does not always hold. The rivers and lakes freeze about the middle to the last of November. It is not uncommon to have frosts in every month except July, particularly on small streams, nevertheless roots come to maturity and grain ripens in most years, wheat being oftener hurt by rust than by frost. The Springs are indeed backward, but vegetation is surprisingly rapid, and the Autumns are usually very fine.²³

Jonathan Odell commented on the New Brunswick weather in a letter to Edward Winslow written in 1794. He had once seen a temperature in Fredericton just before sunrise as low as forty degrees below Fahrenheit. The highest he had ever

²²Reitzel, ed., *The Autobiography of William Cobbett*, p. 29.

²³Peter Fisher, Sketches of New-Brunswick containing an Account of the First Settlement of the Province, with a Brief Description of the Country, Climate, Productions, Inhabitants, Rivers, Towns, Settlements, Public Institutions, Trade, Revenue, Population, &c (Saint John: Chubb & Sears, 1835, reprint ed., Saint John: New Brunswick Historical Society, 1921), p. 19.

seen there was ninety-seven degrees on 28 June 1789; however, he had repeatedly seen it up to ninety-four degrees.²⁴

The Ingrahams, like the rest of the Loyalists, no doubt soon adapted to the climate in their new homeland. Heat in June, July, and August was no novelty to any of them. Extreme cold was a different matter for many, but there was an abundance of trees for building and firewood, all free for the cutting.

Almost all, that is. Pines were excepted. The white pine in America had been reserved for more than a century for masts for the Royal Navy. Sir John Wentworth, the Governor of New Hampshire and the energetic and zealous Surveyor General of the King's Woods, moved to Halifax after the Revolution and carried on with characteristic enthusiasm in his new province in the latter capacity. James Glenie, his deputy in New Brunswick, was almost as assiduous. Problems in the Baltic Sea resulting from the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars heightened the demand for masts in America. Glenie, before his appointment as Deputy Surveyor General, competed with the firm of Hunter, Robertson & Forsythe in the St. John valley for labourers and oxen.²⁵ But they had difficulties--the men did not want to work for them. "A frequent commentary upon the inhabitants," Stewart MacNutt wrote, "was their independence of demeanour, a social trait that was accounted

²⁴ Odell to Winslow, 8 October, 1794, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 414.

²⁵ MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 102.

for by the abundance of land. With every man a freeholder none would work for another."²⁶

The average man in New Brunswick preferred to cut his own lumber and market it himself. He bitterly resented the "Broad Arrow" on the white pines reserving them for the King as well as the restrictions against cutting any timber on Crown lands. He was inclined to ignore the regulations, usually with impunity, Governor Carleton and the justices of the province tending to resent Wentworth's firm measures for the protection of the forest.²⁷

Both Benjamin and Abijah cut lumber in off seasons during the summer and early autumn as well as after harvesting and during the winter before the snow became too deep. Benjamin, however, seems to have been less interested in the lumber industry than was his brother; Abijah built and operated saw-mills, and the records contain several applications from him for lumbering permits and mill rights in such strategic locations as the mouth of the Pokiok and the mouth of the Shogomoc.

The men worked all year round, and so did the women. In the summer months the wife and daughters did outside work,

²⁶ MacNutt, The Atlantic Provinces, p. 137.

²⁷ See MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, pp. 142-143. For a good account of the masting industry in New Brunswick see Arthur R. M. Lower, The Assault on the Canadian Forest (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1938); Robert Greenhalgh Albion, Forest and Sea Power: The Timber Problem of the Royal Navy, 1652-1862 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926).

like berry-picking, planting, tending, and harvesting the vegetable garden, and making the soap. The women, too, looked after the chickens and often helped with the milking, leaving the men more time for the heavier work. Of course, inside there was a great deal to do, too, other than the cooking, cleaning, and caring for the children. There was an endless round of preserving and drying fruits and vegetables, making butter and cheese as well as carding, spinning, weaving, and sewing, for clothing was usually home-made in the families of ordinary folk.²⁸

It fell upon the wife, also, to look after the health of the family. Jerusha was fortunate to have Dr. Charles Earle as a neighbour; she probably had occasional recourse to his services. No doubt she sometimes supplemented home-made medicines with one or another of the commercial remedies advertised in the newspaper--"Pectoral pills for shortness of breath; & in Asthmatic and Consumptive cases, giving almost instant relief," Scotch ointment to combat the itch, vermifuge lozenges for worms, Cordial Restorative Balsam for "nervous Disorders, Debility, Inward Weakness, &c," Volatile Tincture, "said to be an immediate cure for the tooth ache."²⁹ Perhaps she even mixed up some of the newspaper's suggested cure for bowel complaint, "now so prevalent in most families."

²⁸ Mrs. Hunter wrote that "every article of clothing is six times the price it is in England, and everything imported from England."

²⁹ The Royal Gazette & New Brunswick Advertiser, 26 April 1800.

The recipe instructed the reader to

Take two Ounces of Mutton Suet near the Kidney, cut it very small, and let it simmer in a pint of milk, till it comes to half a pint, then strain it off, and take a coffee cup full, warm, frequently; if the stomach can bear it.³⁰

Such concoctions would, if nothing else, tend to discourage sickness and might be depended upon to put a sudden end to malingering. In the busy round of activities of the subsistence farmer and his family, there was little time to pamper oneself or any other member of the household.

Benjamin Ingraham, however, might be considered somewhat more than a subsistence farmer. Not only did he supply some of the leading citizens of the town with meat and vegetables but he also soon began to increase his landholdings. The addition to his Fredericton farm and the grant in Queensbury were not enough to satisfy him. Like many other Loyalists he began to buy land. Neil MacKinnon wrote: "The improved lands advertised for sale in the Gazette indicated that Loyalists were not limiting themselves to their grants but that those who could afford to were buying good land."³¹ Esther Clark Wright affirmed that "there was a constant reaching out for more land, for more opportunities, as the children of ten years and upwards on the victualling lists, then those under ten, then the New Brunswick born, then the children of

³⁰ Ibid., 25 March 1800.

³¹ MacKinnon, "The Loyalist Experience in Nova Scotia, 1783-1791," p. 196.

the men who had married soon after arrival, reached their early maturity."³²

The practice of obtaining free grants of Crown land came to a somewhat abrupt end in 1790. The British Government, ever in need of more revenue, saw the possibilities in imitating the practice in the United States of selling ungranted land. Consequently, the Crown lands in New Brunswick were locked up, and the only access to them in the next seventeen years was by purchase.³³ As a result, the only alternative for a man who wished to acquire land was to buy it. There was always land for sale, not only Crown land but also land which had already been granted and which the owners were eager to dispose of. Speaking of the original grantees, Edward Winslow commented that many of them "were idle, dissipated, and capricious, and as soon as they were fairly in possession of their lands and had expended the bounty of Government, they sold it for a trifle to Land jobbers and speculators."³⁴ Even if Winslow's assessment of the character of the original grantees seems somewhat lacking in objectivity, it is a fact that many sold their grants soon after receiving them, some without making any improvements or indeed

³²Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, p. 225.

³³MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, pp. 70-71.

³⁴Winslow to Lutwyche, 4 March 1800, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 443. Winslow quoted examples of transactions at prices ridiculously low even for the eighteenth century.

even living on them. Benjamin Ingraham, though neither a land jobber nor a speculator, bought land in Queensbury, improved land put up for sale by its Loyalist occupants who wished to move elsewhere. He had the future of his two sons to think of.

Benjamin made his first Queensbury purchase in 1787 when he bought Lot 109 comprising 200 acres from Thomas Sanderson.³⁵ He had already been granted Lots 105, 107, and 108, totalling 395 acres. In 1792 he bought for ten pounds from Josiah Gilbert, a former private in the King's American Regiment, the upper half of Lot 106.³⁶ The lower half of this farm belonged to John and Martha Manzer, and Benjamin sold them his Lot 105.³⁷ However, he got it back again in 1805 when he purchased the Manzer farm (Lot 105 and the lower half of Lot 106), giving him a block of approximately 800 acres.³⁸ In 1801 he had bought Lot 116, about half a mile up river, 200 acres with improvements and buildings, from Caleb and Elizabeth Gilbert.³⁹ As a result of these grants and purchases, Benjamin in 1807 owned Lots 105, 106, 107, 108,

³⁵ York County (New Brunswick) Registry of Deeds (hereinafter referred to as YCRD), 6 February 1787, Vol. 1, p. 122, PANB.

³⁶ Copy of deed in author's possession.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ YCRD, 6 April 1805, Vol. 3, p. 57, PANB.

³⁹ YCRD, 16 February 1801, Vol. 2, p. 130, PANB.

109, and 116 in Queensbury, a total of 1009 acres.

Benjamin also had his eye on the rich land on Bear Island, situated in the St. John River opposite his other holdings. This land flooded nearly every spring, and the rich deposits of silt left by the receding waters guaranteed heavy crops of hay and grain year after year. The island could be reached easily from the Queensbury shore by fording the river, except at freshet time, at several spots, one of which was the front of Lot 116. The island lots were laid out in parcels of 4 3/4 acres each. Benjamin acquired his first island property when he was granted Lot 68; he made his first purchase in 1793, Lots 75 and 76 from Nathan Mesick.⁴⁰ By 1807 he owned eight island lots, a total of thirty-eight acres.⁴¹ When he made his last will in 1810 he owned nine and one-half lots on the island, forty-five and one-quarter acres.⁴²

Benjamin had added to his farm in Fredericton as well.

⁴⁰YCRD, 20 April 1793, Vol. 2, p. 401, PANB.

⁴¹Granted Lot 68 in 1793 (N.B. Land Grants, Book 4, p. 273, PANB). Bought Lots 75 and 76 from Nathan Mesick in 1793 (YCRD, Vol. 2, p. 201). Bought Lot 84 from Caleb Gilbert in 1801, along with farm Lot 116 (YCRD, Vol. 2, p. 130). Bought Lots 77 and 79 from Isaac Leech for £5 (YCRD, Vol. 2, p. 282). Bought Lot 86 in 1805 from John Manzer along with farm Lot 105 and half of Lot 106 for £175 (YCRD, Vol. 3, p. 57). Another deed indicates that in 1807 he bought from Isaac Leech for 10s. Lots 75, 76, 78, and 79, three of which he had already purchased. Whatever the confusion, by 1807 he had a clear title to Lots 68, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 84, and 86, on Bear Island.

⁴²YCRD, Will of Benjamin Ingraham, 23 February 1810, Vol. 3, p. 367, PANB.

On 23 September 1803 he bought from the College of New Brunswick a tract of 119 acres adjoining the farm on which he was living, bringing his Forest Hill tract to 203 acres.⁴³ Thus at the time of his death in 1810 his Fredericton and Queensbury property totalled approximately 1267 acres.

During this period Benjamin's brother Abijah had not been idle either. He had settled on Lot 87, his 206-acre grant in Queensbury, a few miles down river from Benjamin's land and next door to his old army friend, Samuel Crawford. In 1789 Abijah petitioned for Lot 88, comprising 203 acres and received the grant.⁴⁴ By this time he was married to Mary Moore; his first two sons, Charles and Nathaniel, had been born in 1789 and 1791 respectively.⁴⁵

Abijah made no land purchases during the 1790s, his only transaction being the sale of his 4 3/4 acre lot on nearby Soodawabscook Island, a previous grant from the Crown.⁴⁶ In 1802 he petitioned for land on the Soodawabscook River, about three miles from its mouth on the St. John, as a site for a saw-mill; his request was refused.⁴⁷ In 1803 he

⁴³Land Papers, UA, RG34, UNB Archives.

⁴⁴"Journals of the Proceedings Respecting the Allotment of Lands," RG10, RS107, Vol. 9, p. 1, PANB.

⁴⁵Ingraham Genealogical Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

⁴⁶YCRD, 15 April 1795, Vol. 2, p. 94, PANB.

⁴⁷"Journals of the Proceedings Respecting the Allotment of Lands," RG10, RS107, Vol. 10, p. 46, PANB.

expanded into Block 6, the King's American Regiment grant on the right bank of the St. John between its tributaries, the Eel and the Shogomoc. Here he bought from George Hillman Lots 1 and 2, bordering on the Shogomoc and comprising 400 acres.⁴⁸ Abijah had petitioned for a grant of 200 acres on the St. John, touching on the lower bank of the Shogomoc.

The records show the following report:

In pursuance of the order of His Excellency in Council on the 2^d Instant, referring to this Committee, the consideration of the Memorials now filed and unanswered in the Secretary's office, the following were this day read and from information collected by the Surveyor General appear to be such as may without delay be complied with, except in some cases where the Petitioners have already received grants of such quantity as to render impossible the King's express permission to any additional grants. Such applicants are marked with an asterisk on the following List.

Abijah Ingraham was third on the list, and, since there was no asterisk beside his name, it can be assumed that he received his grant.⁴⁹ This grant, at the mouth of the turbulent little Shogomoc, was an excellent site for a saw-mill. Moreover, it was separated from Lots 1 and 2 only by the stream. To this property Abijah and his family moved from Queensbury, and his branch of the family became known as the Shogomoc Ingrahams.

Abijah was a miller and lumberman as well as a farmer. He had an eye for the efficacious site for a saw-mill; the mouth of the Shogomoc seemed ideal. There was a considerable

⁴⁸YCRD, 2 November 1803, Vol. 2, p. 3394, PANB.

⁴⁹MG9, A1, M/f Reel M-1382, Vol. 2, p. 1059, PAC.

stand of timber nearby for his mill, water power to keep it running, and proximity to the St. John to provide transportation for his finished product to the markets. When later, the lumber industry turned out to be somewhat of a disappointment, he had his farm to fall back on.

Sir Thomas Carleton in a letter to Lord Grenville gave an adequate description of the problems which began to beset New Brunswick lumbermen in the mid-1790s. It had been expected, the Governor said, that in a few years the millers and lumbermen would be able to furnish enough lumber for the province's use as well as a considerable amount for export to the West Indies.

The event, however, had not justified that expectation. The interior parts of the country being yet unsettled, the Mills were of necessity erected as near as possible to the navigable Rivers, and the proper sorts of timber being soon cut up in the vicinity of each Mill Seat, the labor and expence of collecting it from a distance were found to increase far beyond the present ability of the adventurers in this branch of business.

As a result many millers and lumbermen had to abandon their undertaking. The other great source of discouragement was the restriction on the cutting of white pines. "The Deputies appointed by the Surveyor of the Woods," Governor Carleton continued,

have, or assume to have, authority to seize all pine timber which they find in the possession of any one though it may have been cut on his own ground, unless he first obtains a license, for which I am told they demand a considerable Fee. To cut any white pine tree, exceeding two feet in diameter, without His Majesty's license is prohibited by Act of Parliament; but this prohibition is here extended to trees of any size, in consequence, I suppose, of the clause which of late years has been inserted in all the Royal Grants in

Nova Scotia and in this province, reserving to His Majesty all white pine trees without distinction.⁵⁰

No doubt, when the lumber industry was in a state of slump, Abijah devoted his attention to his farms. There is no record extant to indicate how he or Benjamin felt about the restrictions on the white pine, but Daniel Lyman, a member of the Assembly for York County, probably expressed the sentiments of the majority of farmers and lumbermen. "The reserves made by the Surveyor General of Woods," he wrote in a voluminous sort of open letter in 1792, "are a great discouragement to the settlement of the country--they should be taken off--and a stop to any more being made, as totally unnecessary, useless and calculated to injure the very purpose for which it was intended to promote."⁵¹

Whatever happened, Abijah apparently did not devote much time to squabbling with the officials over white pine. He continued to expand his land holdings. He now turned to the Queen's Rangers grant, Block 5, on the left bank of the St. John above Queensbury. On 2 September 1805 he bought Lot 72, containing 200 acres, from Isaac and Mary Brooker for twenty-five pounds.⁵² He sold this property on 23 March 1809

⁵⁰ Carleton to Grenville, 15 July 1791, MG11, C018, New Brunswick Original Correspondence, Vol. 4, No. 445, PAC.

⁵¹ Open letter from Daniel Lyman, 14 October 1792, MG11, C018, New Brunswick Original Correspondence, Vol. 4, No. 171, PAC.

⁵² YCRD, 2 September 1805, Vol. 2, p. 429, PANB.

to Baltus Scriber, making ten pounds on the deal.⁵³ On the same day he purchased another 200-acre lot for a little over seven pounds from Andrew and Jane Warwick, Lot 50 in Block 5, directly across the St. John from his Shogomoc home.⁵⁴

Abijah also had his eye on some land in Kingsclear. In the autumn of 1802 he, his nephew John Ingraham, and Michael Knap memorialized for a tract of nine hundred acres, "to wit, 300 A each, in the Parish of Kingsclear, to commence at the upper or southerly line of the Grant to John Barker and Jo^s Smith extending from thence southwesterly 60 chains along the line of Prince William." At the bottom of the petition the Surveyor General, George Sproule, noted, "8 November 1802. The tract of land above is vacant." There is, however, no record to indicate that the grant was ever actually made.⁵⁵

Even without this property, Abijah Ingraham had acquired an impressive amount of land by 1810. He owned 409 acres in Block 3, 200 acres in Block 5, and 600 acres in Block 6, a total of 1209 acres. Adding in Benjamin's 1257 acres, the Loyalist Ingraham brothers had acquired in their 27-year sojourn in York County a total of 2466 acres of land,

⁵³ Ibid., 23 March 1809, Vol. 4, p. 288, PANB.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 23 March 1809, Vol. 4, p. 291, PANB.

⁵⁵ Land Petitions, 8 November 1802, M/f Reel L32, PANB. There is no record of this property in any future land sales made by John or Abijah Ingraham or in their wills. It appears certain that the grant was never made.

besides an indeterminate amount in buildings and improvements. Financially, they had not done badly at all! No doubt, at least as well as their brothers, Samuel and John, who had remained in New York State.⁵⁶ —

Neither Benjamin nor Abijah Ingraham should be regarded as typical of the rank and file of the disbanded Loyalist soldiers of the province when considering the acquisition of property. While some of the Loyalist officers and leaders had become large land-owners, few of the enlisted men acquired more than a few hundred acres. Benjamin and Abijah, in this respect, stood well above fourteen other Loyalists, privates and non-commissioned officers, selected at random from the muster roll of the Kings' American Regiment.⁵⁷ A brief survey of the land acquisitions of these men will serve to illustrate the point. Of the group, John Moore came closest to Benjamin and Abijah in the number of acres acquired. At his peak he owned slightly more than 1100 acres; perhaps he had overreached, for in 1831 the sheriff sold Moore's property to pay off the debts. Henry Cronkhite, in addition to the 150 acres of his grant in Block 6, purchased

⁵⁶In Chapter VIII an account will be given of the further land expansion of Abijah and his sons and of Benjamin's sons from 1810 to 1830.

⁵⁷Sgt. Asa Blakesley, Pte. Samuel Crawford, Sgt. John Cox, Pte. Henry Cronkhite, Pte. John Farris, Sgt. Christian Feero, Cpl. James Forman, Pte. Cornelius Gee, Pte. George Hicks, Cpl. Jeremiah Masten, Pte. John Moore, Pte. Hicks Seaman, Pte. Titus Way, and Sgt. Hezekiah Wyatt,

sufficient land across the St. John to bring his total to about 950 acres. Titus Way supplemented the 200 acres granted to him in Block 6 by buying the next two lots below, giving him a farm of 600 acres. To this he added 200 acres across the river. Jeremiah Masten augmented his 200-acre Shogomoc grant with the 400 adjoining; counting the land he bought across the river, he owned a total of 700 acres. Cornelius Gee, originally granted Lot 31 in Block 6 containing 235 acres, bought land above Woodstock but never seems to have owned more than 400 or 500 acres at any one time. The same is true of James Forman, friend and neighbour of John and Ira Ingraham, in Queensbury. Asa Blakesley and Hicks Seaman merely sold their grants and turned to other means of earning a livelihood. John Cox seems never to have lived on his grant in Block 6; he owned a lot or two in Fredericton. John Farris moved from one farm to another, but never owned more than one lot at a time. Samuel Crawford, Abijah's friend, lived out his life on Lot 86 in Queensbury, next door to his friend. Having no children of his own, he willed his single lot to "his beloved friend," Charles Ingraham, Abijah's oldest son. Christian Feero, George Hicks, and Hezekiah Wyatt lived on their grants without acquiring any additional acreage.⁵⁸ These fourteen acquired an average acreage of a little more than 400 acres each. The conclusion from the above

⁵⁸"Journals of the Proceedings Respecting the Allotment of Lands," RG10, RS107, PANB.

is that the pattern was varied, with only a few acquiring large holdings of land. None, however, acquired as much land as Benjamin Ingraham, and certainly Abijah left them all far behind. Abijah's land holdings in 1830 exceeded the total acreage of the fourteen disbanded soldiers mentioned.

This brief survey indicates that both Benjamin and Abijah Ingraham were more successful in acquiring land than were most of the Loyalists in ordinary circumstances. Benjamin made his purchases with money earned by working for others, by business transactions, and with the grant he received as a settlement of his claim for losses suffered in New Concord as a result of his loyalty. If he borrowed money, there is no evidence of it. Abijah, on the other hand, lived a little more dangerously. On 9 November 1805 he mortgaged some of his property to James Bell and Stephen Jarvis, two Fredericton merchants.⁵⁹ No doubt he required money to buy more land or finance equipment for one of his saw-mills. All indications are that he was able to pay off the debt according to the terms of the agreement.

Abijah was more successful in this respect than many of the Loyalists of the gentry class. Many of them, particularly those who were unwilling or unable to work with their hands, soon found themselves so enmeshed in debt that they never recovered. A typical case is that of Isaac Atwood, who

⁵⁹YCRD, 9 November 1805, Vol. 7, p. 213, PANB.

began his life in the province by hiring men to clear his land. A member of the Assembly for a time, but having no position which paid him a salary, he went further and further into debt as time went on. After his death, the following notice appeared on 5 June 1809 in The Royal Gazette & New Brunswick Advertiser:

Notice is hereby given by the Subscribers, Trustees for all the Creditors of the late Isaac Atwood; that the mortgage title to those two well known Tracts of Land at Meductic, called Belviso, and Captain Atwood's Estate, together with a small Island in the Neighbourhood called Fall Island will be sold at Public Auction at Gabriel Van Horne's Tavern in Fredericton at 12 o'clock on Monday the 25th of September next--An assignment of the mortgage to be made at the time the money is paid or secured to be paid.⁶⁰

A rather sad but all too common ending for a man of Atwood's military and social stature. Captain Atwood, a competent and respected officer of the King's American Regiment, had been known by Benjamin and Abijah for more than thirty years.

Atwood's land was sold again a few years later, along with the adjoining lot, by Orlo Smith for 260 pounds to a sergeant in the Captain's old cavalry company, Abijah Ingraham!⁶¹

Atwood's debts at least did not catch up with him while he lived, as was the case with many of the Loyalist leaders. Hunter and Ross, the Fredericton furniture makers, however, were not so fortunate. Their letters to their

⁶⁰The Royal Gazette & New Brunswick Advertiser, 5 June 1809.

⁶¹YCRD, 9 July 1819, Vol. 8, p. 325, PANB.

lawyer, Ward Chipman of Saint John, indicate the onset of financial troubles as early as 1788. Early in January 1789 they wrote that they expected their creditors would "proceed with as much rigour as the laws [would] permit."⁶² To extricate themselves from their difficulties, they were willing even to part with their house. "If, Sir, any Gentleman of your acquaintance should want a House, we will readily sell in order to disencumber ourselves or a Mortgage for about £350 would enable us to prosecute Business to more advantage," they informed Chipman.⁶³

All to no avail. "Difficulties seem to thicken with us," they wrote on 23 November 1789 from the fastness of the Fredericton gaol, where they had been lodged at least since August and were destined to languish for many months to come.⁶⁴ They kept their minds busy concocting schemes for the satisfaction of their creditors and their consequent release and relaying them to Chipman. "If we are kept prisoner," they wrote, "and loss of life and health ensue from the noxious air of the gaol, satisfaction they can never give nor receive."⁶⁵ Their hands they kept occupied by making furniture

⁶² Hunter and Ross to Chipman, 6 January 1789, MG23, D1; Chipman Papers, Series II, New Brunswick Museum Collection, Chapter 6, M/f Reel M-153, PAC.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 23 October 1789.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 22 August 1789.

to pay off their lawyer and their creditors, furniture like the "Bason stand and the Table" they sent to Chipman.⁶⁶ At the same time they incurred more debts by purchasing mahogany and other imported woods for their craft. A letter written to their creditors late in 1794 indicates that, while they were by this time out of gaol, they were still in considerable financial difficulty.⁶⁷

That Hunter and Ross were known by the Ingrahams is certain, although it is not known to what degree the latter were influenced by witnessing the fate of those who borrow and live beyond their means. The Ingraham family probably watched all the events and developments in the new capital with more than a detached interest, for everything that happened affected their lives in at least some small measure. Moreover, there was little else, other than day-to-day home activities, to occupy the attention in this provincial backwater, cut off from the outside world. However, by the turn of the century the town had taken on an appearance quite different from the raspberry common with two or three houses that Benjamin Ingraham first saw in 1783. Mrs. Hunter wrote in 1804 that

⁶⁶ Ibid., 10 November 1789.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 20 November 1789. At least one piece of furniture attributed to these Loyalist furniture makers, a maple side chair, may be found on display in the New Brunswick Museum, Saint John, N.B. For a brief account of their career see Huia F. Ryder, Antique Furniture by New Brunswick Craftsmen (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1975; paperback edition, 1973), pp. 93-97.

This Fredericton is called a town, but in fact it is a much prettier thing, a village, scattered on a delightful common of the richest sheep pasture I ever saw, and flocks grazing up to our door. There are altogether about one hundred and twenty houses, some very pretty, all comfortable-looking, and almost every one has a garden.⁶⁸

Among the changes in the town was the erection of the first Province Hall on the site of the present Parliament Buildings. On 10 June 1800 the local newspaper reported that "on the 15th of last month, the Foundation Stone of the Province Hall, for the accommodation of the Legislative Assembly, and the Courts of Justice, was laid by His Excellency the Lieutenant Governor, in the presence of His Majesty's Council and the principal Officers of Government residing at Fredericton and in its vicinity."⁶⁹ This brought the scene of the political action in the province a little closer to Benjamin Ingraham's doorstep.

After his experiences in New Concord and the Thirteen Colonies, Benjamin was likely a keen observer of colonial politics. The past had taught him that anything, even the most unthinkable, might happen. The French Revolution might seem remote from the St. John valley, but its influence was soon felt, perhaps first of all by the restoration by the British Government of the West Indies trade to the United

⁶⁸Maxwell, "Fredericton, 1804-1811, from the Journal of Sir Martin Hunter, Colonel Commanding the 104th Regiment."

⁶⁹The Royal Gazette & New Brunswick Advertiser, 10 June 1800.

States. The outbreak of war between Britain and the French Republic in January 1793 brought New Brunswick ten years of adverse fortune.⁷⁰ Sir Thomas Carleton's star began to set in London when his brother, Lord Dorchester, fell from grace and returned to England in 1796. The war restored the "former eminence" and prosperity of Halifax as a base for the Royal Navy. What was perhaps even worse for Fredericton, Edward, Duke of Kent, came from the West Indies to Halifax in 1794 and replaced Sir Thomas Carleton as commander of the troops in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. As a result the large military establishment which was Carleton's pride and joy began to disappear. To his great sorrow his two regiments of the line were posted elsewhere, one to Halifax and the other to the West Indies. The upriver posts were abandoned and the Fredericton barracks virtually empty. No longer were there redcoats drilling on the square and mounting guard at the entrance to the Governor's farm. "Instead of becoming a bustling military centre for the conquest of the north, Fredericton became, as it was said at Saint John, a provincial village."⁷¹

The resulting political discontent was, in Stewart MacNutt's words, "deep and general, pervading all classes."⁷²

⁷⁰ MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 85.

⁷¹ Ibid., pp. 95-96.

⁷² Ibid., p. 97.

Loyalists had never allowed their loyalty to prevent them from criticizing the ideas and actions of British officials. All were not supporters of Governor Carleton and his coterie of favourites. The commercial interests were offended by the treaty opening the West Indies trade to the Americans. The rural element was unhappy about the 1790 restrictions on land grants; the limitations on timber cutting annoyed others. The result was a fairly effective protest movement in the 1790s, potent enough to prevent the passing of most of the bills referred to the Assembly.

One of the leading lights in the protest movement was James Glenie, ably assisted by a few other members, notably Stair Agnew and Samuel Denny Lee Street. This group were considered nothing but radicals and scoundrels by the more conservative officers and placemen in the Council. Their opinion was clearly expressed by Captain Daniel Lyman in a letter to Edward Winslow. "I have read Glenie's damned and blasted pamphlet," he wrote, "what plausibility mixed with falsehood, appropriating to himself every political virtue, tho' guided and instigated by the most infernal motives."⁷³ It worried Lyman, a member for York County, that people were so misled, as he saw it, as to vote for Glenie. "It is distressing," he wrote in another letter to Winslow, "to hear that the vagabond Glenie is likely to get in; it is really a pity that

⁷³ Lyman to Winslow, 5 October 1795, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 421.

there is not enough good sense and loyalty in the country to keep out a known and most notoriously violent Democrat & Jacobin."⁷⁴ How Benjamin Ingraham felt about Glenie, Agnew, and Street we shall never know. Glenie and Street represented Sunbury County anyway, so he did not have to decide whether to vote for them or their opponents, but the question of Stair Agnew was something else. Agnew could not be ignored. Not only was he a member for York County but also his house, at the junction of the Nashwaak and the St. John, was clearly visible from Benjamin's home on Forest Hill. Undoubtedly he attended Agnew's political rallies, such as the one held at the Royal Oak in 1795, when Agnew was bold enough to intimate that union with the United States would not be a disadvantage to landowners.⁷⁵ Whether Benjamin voted for him or not, Agnew was one of the four members elected for York County and continued to play an active part in keeping the pot of political faction at a boil.

The war between Britain and France worried the people of Fredericton, too, particularly when the British regiments were withdrawn from the town. In the first place, they missed the soldiers; no more could the passer-by watch between the pickets around the Square on Queen Street while the redcoats drilled on the parade ground. The very pickets rotted so

⁷⁴ Same to Same, 7 September 1785, Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 420.

⁷⁵ Daniel Lyman to John King, 15 April 1795, quoted in MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 97.

badly that the fence before long had to be replaced.⁷⁶

Secondly, with the redcoats went part of the trade of the Fredericton merchants and a substantial market for agricultural produce. Benjamin Ingraham probably felt the pinch at first but there was no difficulty in selling farm products to the people of the town. In the third place, there was the question of protection. In an effort to provide some sort of defence, Sir Thomas Carleton in 1794 raised the King's New Brunswick Regiment, which, although it may have served to enhance the feeling of security among the inhabitants, did little if anything to improve the state of the economy. "Farmers' sons marched off to join the colours," Stewart MacNutt wrote, "and landowners, to a greater extent than before, were dependent on their own exertions."⁷⁷ However, the new regiment did serve to furnish many of the former officers of the Loyalist Provincial Corps with employment and additional income. It is interesting to note that none of the plums went to veteran officers of the King's American Regiment; perhaps none of these officers was available for one reason or another.

Equally interesting is the fact that neither Benjamin nor Abijah was involved in the new regiment, although both were widely experienced soldiers of military age. Perhaps both felt that their seven years' stint in the Revolutionary

⁷⁶Capt. W. Bartled to Sir Thomas Carleton, 14 June 1797, MG23, D3, PAC.

⁷⁷MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 97.

War comprised a sufficient contribution to their King, perhaps the preference went to younger men, or perhaps there was a health consideration, especially in the case of Benjamin with a bullet still in his hip. They even may have become somewhat cynical and jaded about politicians and their wars which could affect people's lives so dramatically. Nor does the name of John Ingraham, twenty-one years of age in 1794, appear on the muster roll of the regiment; the other sons of Benjamin and Abijah were, of course, too young for military service even in 1802 when it was disbanded.⁷⁸

The church, however, served a more immediate need of the Ingraham family than did the new Province Hall or the new Regiment. Christ Church, situated close to the business hub, remained in its unfinished state. The funds depleted in 1789, work on it came to a standstill, not to be resumed until the summer of 1791.⁷⁹ "They have thoroughly repaired their Church," Parson Cooke reported the following year to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, "and hope in the ensuing summer to finish the inside of it."⁸⁰ In August 1793 he wrote that

⁷⁸For details on the King's New Brunswick Regiment see Henry Dundas, "The King's New Brunswick Regiment, 1795-1802," Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society 1 (1894): 13-62.

⁷⁹SPG Documents, The Journals, 1701-1850, 19 June 1791, MG17, 1, Vol. 25, p. 379, PAC.

⁸⁰Ibid., 12 March 1792; Vol. 26, p. 50, PAC.

their church is in great forwardness, the Church completely finished, so that he can administer the Lord's Supper with more comfort and decency than formerly. The Desk and Pulpit are also erected, which the Governor has ornamented, together with the Communion table, together with an handsome set of red damask hangings, cushions, etc. And they now don't think that their church is too large which they did while they were apprehensive that they should not be able to finish it. They find it necessary to erect galleries to accommodate the military.⁸¹

One wonders about Dr. Cooke's definition of the word "finished," for he goes on in the letter to say that he is in hopes that the church will "be completely finished and pewed by another summer." As a matter of fact, the Reverend George Pidgeon, his successor, continued for many years to talk and write about the unfinished state of the church and the slow progress being made on its construction. Even as late as 1817 the Reverend George J. Mountain stated in a sermon:

It does not look well that the Church at the seat of Government should be still unfinished, still destitute of various and decent appendages, without a steeple, without sacramental plate, without a font for the administration of Baptism, without any external enclosure to prevent its immediate precincts from becoming a harbour for cattle.⁸²

To Benjamin and Jerusha, the church, unfinished and unfurnished as it was, seemed a vast improvement over the King's Provision Warehouse and, indeed, over the little chapel which they had shared with other denominations in New

⁸¹ Ibid., 16 August 1793, Vol. 26, p. 183, PAC.

⁸² William Odber Raymond, "A Sketch of the Life and Administration of Sir Thomas Carleton, First Governor of New Brunswick," Collections of the New Brunswick Historical Society 6 (1905): 469-470.

Concord. Moreover, what was lacking in the church building was adequately compensated for by the devotion and devoutness of the rector. For Parson Cooke was highly esteemed by all. He was beginning to age now, being nearly seventy, although he was "enjoying as considerable a share of health as [one could] expect under his disorder and at his time of life."⁸³ He had been troubled during the past few years with an internal disorder, perhaps gall stones or kidney stones. He had reported in January 1790 that "he had been confined for two months by a fit of the Stone, which had left him in a very weak state, and he feared he should not be able to do much duty during the severity of the winter."⁸⁴ Again, in the spring of 1792, he reported that his health was poor, but he was carrying on.⁸⁵

Parson Cooke's last letter was as cheerful and full of hope as his others. On 29 December 1794 he reported that money received from subscriptions had "so far compleated their church as to render it very commodious and handsome. They have erected 50 Pews in the body of it, exclusive of the Galleries which are reserved for the Military &c. They are rented at an annual rent previously set upon by the Rector, Church Wardens, & Vestry."⁸⁶

⁸³SPG Documents, The Journals, 1701-1850, 16 August 1793, MG17, 1, Vol. 26, pp. 183-184, PAC.

⁸⁴Ibid., 26 January 1790, Vol. 25, p. 286, PAC.

⁸⁵Ibid., 12 March 1794, Vol. 26, p. 50, PAC.

⁸⁶Ibid., 29 December 1794, Vol. 26, p. 359, PAC.

It was the following spring when tragedy struck, and they lost their beloved pastor. Hannah recalled the incident vividly.

May 23, 1795. One day Parson Cooke came over to a funeral, it was in May, at freshet time, and the water was high and the wind began to blow and we wanted him to stay till the next day, but he said they would be waiting for him, so he and his son . . . started to paddle over home.

But next day some one saw a straw hat floating, his son's, and then the canoe bottom up, so we knew they were drowned, and it was more than a week before they found the bodies floating down the river. Oh, it was a terrible grief, we all loved him so. There's many a one named Cooke after him.⁸⁷

Parson Cooke had been loved by all classes of society.

Edward Winslow described him as

a man endeared to us by many amiable qualities. His House was literally a seat of Hospitality, and he was one of the few old men who could indulge in mirth without lessening the importance of his own character. If at times he rather exceeded the bounds of what is called discretion it was obviously the result of goodness of heart & an anxiety to give pleasure to others. His manners were peculiarly conciliatory and his sentiments were perfectly correct & Honorable.⁸⁸

Thus passed away one of the important men in the life of the Benjamin Ingraham family, one who seems to have been a frequent visitor to their Fredericton home. The Ingrahams were devout church-goers, as were many people of the day. However, a few years went by before Benjamin Ingraham became well enough established and respected to hold a church office.

⁸⁷Tippett, "The Hannah Ingraham Story."

⁸⁸"Colonel Winslow's Account of the Drowning of Dr. Cooke & His Son, May 23rd, 1795," Raymond, ed., The Winslow Papers, p. 416.

In this frontier capital church offices, like those of the government and the military, went to members of the leading families. Benjamin's father had been very influential in the church in New Concord, as were his brother and son in Queensbury. It was not until Easter Monday in 1806 that Benjamin finally achieved this mark of respect in the community--he was elected to the vestry of Christ Church on 7 April. He was to remain on the vestry, elected annually, the rest of his life.⁸⁹

The Anglican church had greater strength in Fredericton than in most other parts of the province, where the results of the New Light revival led by Henry Alline were still being felt. This fact is probably explained by the preponderance of government officials and the military in the town, all members of the establishment which supported the Church. Nevertheless, even in Fredericton the other denominations were a threat to Anglicanism, as evidenced in the reports of the Reverend George Pidgeon, son-in-law of Bishop Inglis and Parson Cooke's successor, although by this time he considered the situation much improved. "The zeal for fanaticism has much abated and the Methodists and New Lights in general begin to show an evident partiality for the sober and rational worship of the Established Church, and are almost as constant in their attendance at Church as at their Meeting-houses,"⁹⁰

⁸⁹Records of Christ Church, Fredericton--Vestry Minutes, 1793-1927, M/f Reel C17, PANB.

⁹⁰SPG Documents, The Journals, 1701-1850, 27 December 1795, MG17, 1, Vol. 27, p. 56, PAC.

And again in 1799, "The zeal of fanaticism is moderated, and their unhappy extravagances are seldom heard of--indeed most of the Methodists are as regular at Church as the rest of the parishioners."⁹¹ One might wonder if he were praising the Methodists or castigating his parishioners if he had not written just before that "this Congregation increases, are constant in their attendance, and serious and exemplary in their devotion."⁹² Mr. Pidgeon continued in his optimism. "The deluded followers," he reported, "of those enthusiastic exhorters who have for so long misled both the ignorant and pious, are gradually coming to a better way of thinking."⁹³

Anglicanism, however, seemed to fare less well outside the capital, particularly in communities like Maugerville, which was composed mainly of "old inhabitants," that is, pre-Loyalists from New England. In this community the New Light preachers had made great onslaughts. The neighbourhood was continually in a state of religious effervescence, of fanatic ferment. Believers were joyously and tearfully converted again and again. As new preachers appeared, each with his own interpretation of the Gospel, congregations divided and subdivided into Brookites, Hartites, Harmonites, and a confusion of other groups. Patrick Campbell was

⁹¹ Ibid., 21 May 1798, Vol., 27, p. 437, PAC.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid., 15 November 1808, Vol. 29, pp. 410-411, PAC.

somewhat amazed at what he saw during his walking tour of Maugerville in 1792. On one occasion a loud noise coming from a house led him to believe there was a fight in progress. He decided to investigate; he discovered about sixty people kneeling and weeping and shouting "O Lord, O Lord," "so that one vied with the other who should bawl the loudest." Campbell was deeply impressed, particularly when they mistook him for the devil. In 1791 Duncan McColl, the Methodist evangelist, preached to about twenty-five Christians in Maugerville. This group engaged in prophecy, spoke in new tongues, and worked miracles. McColl was pleased with their attention to his sermon but somewhat startled when, at its conclusion, a hefty lady grabbed him by the collar and demanded, "Where hast thou gleaned today?"⁹⁴

In spite of the wave of evangelism, the Anglicans continued to "glean" in Maugerville as a result of the influx of Loyalists, and the community divided sharply into two religious camps, Anglicans and Dissenters.⁹⁵ In Queensbury and Prince William, too, the Anglican church was strong, despite the efforts and exhortations of the dissenting denominations, and was under the direction of the Reverend Frederick Dibblee, rector of the Parish of Woodstock.

⁹⁴ See MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 91.

⁹⁵ For more information on denominational problems in Maugerville see Maxwell, The History of Central New Brunswick, pp. 124-126.

As a matter of fact, the Church had progressed sufficiently in the two communities that on 5 November 1802 the wardens sent a letter to the bishop, accompanied by one from John Saunders, a Judge of the Supreme Court, making certain requests. What they wanted was that the Society should constitute the two communities as a parish quite separate from that of Woodstock. Although neither had as yet built a church, both had other buildings in which a clergyman could officiate for the present. Each of the communities had a good glebe, although as yet uncultivated. They requested as well that the Society should appoint as their missionary the Reverend Elias Scovil, at the time in deacon's orders. They agreed to pay him £30 annually "over and above the necessary provision for his maintenance."⁹⁶

The Society decided that Queensbury and Prince William were not yet ready to become a separate parish. Besides, they had greater plans for young Scovil. Consequently, the two communities remained in the parish of Woodstock under Parson Dibblee.⁹⁷ The Queensbury wardens who had signed the memorial were Benjamin Atherton and John Ingraham, chosen 13 September 1802. Abijah, at the same meeting, was elected one of ten vestry members.⁹⁸ The Ingrahams resumed their old

⁹⁶SPG Documents, The Journals, 1701-1850, 5 November 1802, Vol. 28, pp. 324-325, PAC.

⁹⁷Ibid., Vol. 28, p. 325, PAC.

⁹⁸The Saunders Papers, UNB Archives.

leadership role in church affairs in the new community. Competition for such offices was not as keen in Queensbury as in Fredericton. The educated "elite" of the Loyalists tended to settle in centres such as Fredericton, Saint John, and St. Andrew's; communities like Queensbury and Prince William had few residents of the status of Judge Saunders, and consequently men of less education and social standing could aspire to leadership roles.

John Ingraham and his new wife had settled on Benjamin's Lot 108 in Queensbury in 1800 immediately after their marriage. John and Ann Clark, who had migrated to New Brunswick with her family from Machias in 1779, were married in Fredericton by the Reverend George Pidgeon on 27 November 1800. True to custom, they began at once to raise a family; their first child, a daughter who was given the unusual name of Mamre, first saw the light of day a year later on 30 November 1801. There were no more, at least who lived, until 1804, and then there were four, one every year--Ira in 1804, Sidney in 1805, Ann in 1806, and John Clark in 1807. George, the last, arrived on 13 May 1813.⁹⁹

The church continued to flourish, and Parson Dibblee held services every third Sunday during the summer.¹⁰⁰ Provision was made, too, for the education of the children. In

⁹⁹Ingraham Family Genealogical Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington.

¹⁰⁰SPG Documents, The Journals, 1701-1850, 10 July 1803, Vol. 28, p. 394, PAC.

1798 a Mr. Robert Payne, "of good morals, & competent in his business," had been appointed master of the school in Prince William, which was also to serve Queensbury.¹⁰¹ Parson Dibblee requested a salary from the Society for Mr. Payne, the school having heretofore been supported "by 2 or 3 gentlemen, but now rests chiefly on one."¹⁰²

It was not until 1804 that the Society received the Bishop's letter about Schoolmaster Payne. The Society's Journal noted that

The Bishop next recommends a Mr. Robert Payne, who has kept a school in Prince William and taught between 25 and 30 poor children, most of them without fee or reward since 1798, to be appointed by the Society as Schoolmaster, to him a gratuity for his services during that period as they may think proper.¹⁰³

The result was that Payne received both the appointment and a gratuity of twenty pounds for his past services.¹⁰⁴

In 1805 Parson Dibblee was still holding services in Queensbury every third Sunday in the summer, traveling there from Woodstock "by birch canoo [sic], there being no road open." They had raised a small church, he said, "suitable to their infant settlement." Although once again he requested a missionary for them, he was still officiating in Queensbury

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 24 July 1800, Vol. 28, p. 98, PAC.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 12 November 1804, Vol. 29, p. 90, PAC.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 94.

and Prince William in 1809.¹⁰⁵

The two congregations were still of insufficient importance in the Society's view to comprise a parish with a missionary of its own. Bishop Inglis had recommended it, having himself visited the region as early as 1792 when he ordained Parson Dibblee.¹⁰⁶ The Bishop was well acquainted with the Ingraham family. According to Mrs. W. H. Tippet, recorder of Hannah Ingraham's reminiscences and wife of the Reverend W. H. Tippet, rector of Queensbury from 1850 to 1875, the Bishop stayed at the Ingraham house when he visited Fredericton.

Bishop Inglis was always Hannah's father's guest when he visited Fredericton, and was on most friendly and intimate terms, staying at their house. He used to say to her: "Hannah, you will live to be an old woman, your days will be long in the land for you are so dutiful to your parents."¹⁰⁷

A perusal of the Inglis papers neither confirms nor disproves the statement. In 1792 the Bishop took lodging with "Mr.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 6 June 1805, Vol. 29, p. 128; 24 August 1805, Vol. 29, p. 386.

¹⁰⁶ Inglis Papers, MG23, C6, Series I, Vol. 2, p. 34, PAC.

¹⁰⁷ Tippet, "The Hannah Ingraham Story." Author's Note:

What makes this simple narrative more interesting at the present day is that Bishop Inglis was always her father's guest when he visited Fredericton, and was on most friendly and intimate terms, staying at their house. He used to say to her: "Hannah, you will live to be an old woman, your days will be long in the land for you are so dutiful to your parents." She lived to be 97, and wept for joy when Bishop Medley, our first Bishop, went to see her (1845) soon after he came, and related over again her old acquaintance with Bishop Inglis.

Jarvis for the first time." The accounts of his other visits do not mention where he stayed in Fredericton nor do they make specific mention of the Ingrahams.¹⁰⁸

Benjamin seems to have continued to spend part of his time in Queensbury, although he retained his official residence in Fredericton. He continued to purchase land until 1807, and in that year, on 4 June, he along with his son John and two other Queensbury proprietors, Seth Griswold and James Forman, signed a petition.

This is to certify that we the Proprietors of Great Bear Island do Require the Court to Continue the last year's Regulations again the Present year.¹⁰⁹

Just what the regulation in question constituted is far from clear. What is significant is that it was the last official document signed by Benjamin Ingraham other than two wills, one made in 1809 and the other in 1810, a few weeks before his death. It seems likely that shortly after this document was signed his health began to deteriorate, for by the spring of 1809 he was a sick man. On 25 May of that year he made a will in which he stated that he was "in a weak state of health but sound in mind."¹¹⁰

Benjamin's New York brothers and sisters probably occupied some of his thoughts as his health continued to

¹⁰⁸Inglis Papers, MG23, C6, Series I, Vols. 1-8, PAC.

¹⁰⁹Petitions for Land Grants, 4 June 1807, MG9, A5, Vol. 19, No. 724, PAC.

¹¹⁰Will of Benjamin Ingraham, 25 May 1809.

deteriorate and he became less and less active. How much he missed them, his old friends, and his old home in New Concord one can only guess. "Political difference and the violence of fearful victors," Esther Clark Wright commented, "could not wipe out ties of blood."¹¹¹ There were varying degrees of communication between the Loyalists and those they left behind. Many returned to live in the United States when the opportunity presented itself; others merely went back for visits. Some sent their children there to be educated; others merely exchanged letters. Benjamin and Abijah never went back to the United States, nor did their children. As far as is known, they never saw any of their American relatives again. With their grandchildren and great grandchildren it was a different story--many crossed the border to live, particularly in the new frontier in the West, and they were to be found scattered throughout Illinois, Minnesota, North Dakota, and other western states. Others merely moved the few miles into the State of Maine.

Whether there was much letter-writing between the Loyalist Ingrahams and their American relatives is at best uncertain--no such letters seem to have been preserved. However, there was probably at least one. In a statement written by Benjamin there appeared the sentence, "Oct. 20, 1784, died my Hond. father Mr. Benjamin Ingraham . . . at Kings District,

¹¹¹Wright, The Loyalists of New Brunswick, p. 226.

County of Albany, Prov. of N. York."¹¹² Thus a year after his departure from his old home Benjamin somehow received the sad news, whether by letter or by verbal message from a traveler or by a notice in a newspaper.

Benjamin became so ill in the winter and spring of 1809 that he drew up his will on 25 May "under a conviction of the uncertainty of human life." He had consideration, too, for more than his worldly possessions. His body and soul as well he deemed worthy of mention.

I commend my soul to the Great God whom I serve, who gave it, in a firm hope that through my Saviour's death and resurrection it may be permitted to rest in Heaven. My body I request may be buried in the Burying place in Fredericton whenever it may please God to call me away.¹¹³

His next will, dated 23 February 1810, began in very much the same vein. He was, however, somewhat more specific in his instructions for the distribution of his earthly goods than he had been in 1809.

He made ample provision for his wife and daughters, as long as they should remain unmarried. The farm and house in Fredericton were to go to his sons only after the decease of Jerusha, and even then could not be sold without the consent of Hannah and Ann, provided they were still unmarried. The furniture was to be left in the house; on the farm were to be left six cows, fifteen sheep, and all the hogs for the

¹¹²Nichols, "Family Record by Benjamin Ingraham (1748-1810)."

¹¹³Will of Benjamin Ingraham, 25 May 1809.

use of the women-folk. In addition his executors were to deliver yearly to them on or before 10 January at their dwelling house six hundredweight of flour, ten bushels of corn, two hundredweight of pork, and one hundredweight of beef.

In addition, the two daughters each received a bequest in her own right of one cow, six sheep, and one hundred pounds in cash. Jerusha was to have the final say in the disposal of the furniture in the house, with the exception of a feather bed and suitable bedclothes for each of the girls and the six silver table spoons which he bequeathed to Hannah.

Expressing particular concern for the welfare of Jerusha, who had stood by him through thick and thin all these years, he wrote: "I do hereby charge my estate with a suitable and comfortable maintenance for my wife while she remains my widow--and I do hereby specially direct my Executors to see this part of my will carefully executed."

The vast majority of the estate, of course, in accordance with the custom of the day, went to the sons. John was to have the farm in Queensbury on which he was living, with all the buildings on it except the use of half of the great house by Ira as long as he needed it. Ira received the Manzer farm, adjoining John's, on which he had been spending part of his time and living in half of John's house.

All the remainder of the estate the two brothers were to divide equally between them "in such a manner as to them may seem right." When they sold the Fredericton property, John was to make a suitable allowance to Ira for any repairs

or improvements the latter may have made on it. They were to divide between them, too, all Benjamin's furniture in John's house, and all the sleds, sleighs, and farming utensils, except the pleasure sleigh, which was to be Ira's. Ira as well was to have all the cattle not already disposed of, with the exception of an ox and a three-year-old bull which were for John.

Benjamin "set his hand and seal" to his will on 23 February 1810, appointing John, Ira, and Hannah as executors.¹¹⁴ Less than eight weeks later, on 16 April, he died. The Royal Gazette & New Brunswick Advertiser on 30 April carried a simple notice.

DIED: At Fredericton on Monday, the 16th instant, after a long and painful illness, Mr. Benjamin Ingraham, in the 63rd year of his age.¹¹⁵

His remains rest in an unmarked grave in the Old Burying Ground, between Brunswick and George Streets, in Fredericton.

No eulogy adorned the obituary of Benjamin Ingraham, Loyalist, although there was much that could have been said. There was no mention of the sacrifices of this man made in the defence of his principles, of what he steadfastly believed to be right. There was no mention of the seven years away from his family and home, the seven years spent fighting for

¹¹⁴Will of Benjamin Ingraham, 23 February 1810.

¹¹⁵The Royal Gazette & New Brunswick Advertiser, 30 April 1810.

his King in at least seven of the Thirteen Colonies. There was no hint that his painful illness and his death at sixty-two may have been at least in part the result of his battle wounds or of illnesses contracted in the steaming swamps of Georgia or South Carolina or the frigid wilderness of New Brunswick. There was no inkling that his neighbours, perhaps even former friends, had driven him from his home in New Concord because of his convictions. There was no suggestion whatever that his was a considerable contribution, at great cost to himself, to the cause of King and Empire in which he fervently believed.

Nor was any space allotted to his achievements in York County. Here was a man who had been one of the first Loyalists to arrive in Fredericton, with nothing but his family and some utensils and provisions. He had arrived in the autumn, almost with the first snow, yet had made better provision than most of his contemporaries for his family during that first bitter winter. He had laboured, looked ahead instead of back, and prospered. He had made himself respected among his neighbours, a large proportion of whom were former officers and graduates of Columbia and Harvard. He had been elected to the vestry of Christ Church along with men of the stature of Jonathan Odell, George Sproule, Jonathan Bliss, and Garrett Clopper. He had acquired an impressive acreage of land with extensive buildings and improvements. He had left his family very well provided for, indeed. A comparison of the estate of this former private in the King's

American Regiment with that of Isaac Atwood, one of its senior officers, is significant. Truly, Benjamin Ingraham had made a success of his life in this frontier community. His obituary makes mention neither of his success in New Brunswick nor his former misfortunes. Perhaps that is the way he would have wanted it.

CHAPTER VIII

EPILOGUE

"One generation passeth away, and another generation cometh." The death of Benjamin Ingraham in 1810 marked the passing of another generation, a generation which had witnessed sweeping changes of magnificent proportions. 1748 was the year of Benjamin Ingraham's birth in Woodbury, Connecticut; it was also the year in which George Croghan, the Pennsylvania fur-trader, built Fort Pickawillany, deep in Miami country and the western Ohio region claimed by the French and coveted by the English colonists. It was the year of the close of the War of the Austrian Succession, which marked a brief respite in the French-English struggle for North America and angered the New Englanders when their hard-won Louisburg was returned to the French. In that year, too, the fanatic fire of the Great Awakening, ignited by Jonathan Edwards in 1733 and fanned by George Whitefield in the 1740s into a conflagration of religious emotionalism, had considerably subsided, and many Americans, disgusted with the wild hysteria of the Awakening, found refuge in the calm of the old established forms, particularly the Anglican. In 1748 the colonists placed their political and economic trust in the

British Empire and parliamentary government, the navigation laws, and the old colonial mercantile system. Under these the colonies had enjoyed a century of almost continuous prosperity, and Adam Smith, then only twenty-five years old, had not commenced to sow the seeds of doubt--his Wealth of Nations was twenty-eight years in the future. The Industrial Revolution had not yet got under way--there was still no steam engine and the agricultural and cloth-making processes had not yet been transformed by the new inventions. Handel's Messiah had first been performed in Ireland six years before, Gainsborough, Reynolds, and Romney were fast becoming famous artists, and Fielding's Tom Jones appeared the next year.

All that had changed by 1810. New artists and writers and thinkers were gradually replacing the old ones, and in time their ideas would be transmuted into political events, into economic policies, into new fashions in furniture, clothing, technology, and social behaviour, indirectly affecting the everyday lives of ordinary people like the Ingrahams. By 1810 the North American question had been settled--the English had won, and lost. The Seven Years' War had solved the French problem and had helped to create the American one. Twenty years later the War of the Revolution had settled the latter in such a way that what had been French was now British and what had been British was now American. But the Americans had not stopped there. Not only had they gained possession of the once French Ohio country but they had extended their frontier to the Rocky Mountains by means of the Louisiana

Purchase. Republicanism and democracy had proved, to the surprise of perhaps most Loyalists, not to be the ruin of the United States but quite the opposite. The Great Awakening after forty years had reached the valley of the St. John with Henry Alline, and its ravages were still in evidence when Benjamin Ingraham arrived there; he and his family remained unswerving in their Anglican faith, although some of his descendants were caught up in the enthusiasm of the Baptists and Methodists in later years. The Loyalists still clung to their old beliefs in King, Empire, and mercantilism although their faith was often put to the test. The French Revolution and the startling ideas and events connected with it had shaken the world, tremors even being felt in the New Brunswick backwater. The Napoleonic Wars were an even more disquieting sequel for there were economic overtones at first. Britain, involved in yet another war with France, could not afford to alienate the United States (although she finally did so) and her overtures to friendship were usually at the expense of British North America. Loyalists looked on in shocked disbelief at what seemed to be a re-enactment of the Biblical prodigal son drama as the West Indies trade was opened to the Americans, the Ohio country was surrendered to them by Jay's Treaty, and boundary disputes settled, it seemed, always to their advantage. The result was an economic set-back in New Brunswick; gloom was as thick as the Fundy fog, and despairing inhabitants departed for greener fields in the United States or far-off Niagara. But the Battle of Trafalgar made

the seas safe again for British ships and by 1808 New Brunswick had embarked upon "a degree of unprecedented prosperity [which] effectively established the character of the colony for fifty years following."¹ In twenty-five years the Loyalists had transformed the province, perhaps not into the "envy of the American states," but nevertheless into a region of comfortable farms and thriving towns; a region with a promising future. In 1810 the blackest cloud in the heavens was the threat of war with the United States, almost precipitated by the Chesapeake affair in 1807, and still threatening ominously on the horizon. The storm, however, was not to break until 1812, two years after Benjamin Ingraham was laid to rest.

Benjamin Ingraham was interred in the Fredericton Burying Ground; the next concern of his family was the settlement of his estate. On 20 May The Royal Gazette & New Brunswick Advertiser carried the usual notice, dated 4 May and signed by Hannah, John, and Ira, the three executors of the will. All persons with claims against the estate were requested to render them duly attested within six months, and all those indebted were to make immediate payment.² Finally the estate was settled, apparently with no more than ordinary difficulties.

¹MacNutt, New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867, p. 144.

²The Royal Gazette & New Brunswick Advertiser, 21 May 1810.

Jerusha, Hannah, and Ann continued to live in the Fredericton house according to the terms of the will. Ira looked after his mother and sisters, at the same time working the farm in Fredericton as well as the Manzer farm beside John in Queensbury. In 1812 he married Olive Clark, a sister of John's wife Ann. In 1813 on 12 March their first son, whom they named Benjamin, was born. He was followed in the next decade or so by five more sons, Charles, Henry, Samuel, Sidney, and John Barrett, and one daughter, Hannah.

Ann was married in 1813 to Henry Blakesley, son of Sergeant Asa Blakesley of the late King's American Regiment, who had abandoned farming in Block 6 on the St. John for soap-making at the mouth of the river.³ Ann and Henry lived in Saint John, too, and were childless.

Jerusha Barrett Ingraham died on 24 April 1817 at the age of sixty-nine.⁴ She had apparently been in failing health for many years; her obituary stated that she had died "after a long illness," and Hannah remarked in her reminiscences that her mother had contracted rheumatism from the autumn cold and dampness in Saint John and was never well again. Jerusha joined her husband in the Fredericton Burying Ground after a second seven-year absence from him. Her obituary, like Benjamin's, was eloquent in what it did not say. No

³ Ibid., 1 September 1813. They were married in Fredericton on 26 August 1813 by the Reverend George Pidgeon.

⁴ New Brunswick Royal Gazette, 29 April 1817.

mention whatever was made of the arduous life of this courageous woman, this Loyalist by her husband's choice. Nothing was said of the troubled nights and toilsome days during those seven long years while Benjamin was away--a time of worry over his health and whereabouts, of endless toil to feed, clothe, and shelter her children, of ceaseless care and tact to keep in the good graces of her Rebel neighbours, and avoid being driven from the very province, of fear of the violence which pervaded the entire region. There was no hint of the sorrow and despair of her last farewells, knowing them to be such, of the apprehension of boarding for the first time a schooner laden with strangers to set sail over stormy seas for an unknown wilderness derisively known as Nova Scarcity, of the constant bone-chilling cold and frequent gnawing hunger of that first fall and winter in this alien land, of the ill health and homesickness that were its sequel. None of this was said, for Jerusha Ingraham's experience was perhaps not unique. Hers was the lot of countless other Loyalist wives, loyal and patient and courageous to the end. It was over in 1817, and another unsung heroine went to her eternal rest.

With the demise of Jerusha John and Ira were free to sell the Fredericton farm, as long as they had Hannah's consent. But Ira and his family, along with Hannah, remained a few years longer in Fredericton, at least until 16 June 1823 when he and John sold the Fredericton farm for £200 to William McKay.⁵ This sale was the second land deal between the

⁵Land Papers, UA, RG34, UNB Archives.

Ingraham brothers and McKay within the space of a little more than a month. On 12 May they had bought from McKay for £40 one acre of land, comprising four building lots, on the southwest corner of Brunswick and Westmorland Streets in Fredericton. During the next few years they devoted their off-seasons from farming to the construction of a two-and-one-half storey house, which they sold for £350 in 1836.⁶

Some time in the 1820s Ira and his family moved their residence to Queensbury. Hannah went along, too, and spent the remainder of her long life in the home of her brother Ira.⁷ In 1828 Ira bought Lot 115, containing 213 acres, along with Lots 70 and 77 on Bear Island.⁸ This land, along with Lot 116 and the island lots inherited from his father, comprised the farm on which Ira and Olive lived out their lives, and much of which remained in the hands of their descendants until its sale in the 1960s. Here Ira and John, the construction of the Fredericton house completed, continued with their carpentry sideline; in the early 1830s they built the big house, in style reminiscent of those in New Concord, which was to be the residence of Ira and his descendants until 1963.

⁶ The house is still standing, the exterior well preserved, the interior converted into apartments. It bears a plaque stating that it was built by John and Ira, the sons of Benjamin Ingraham, a Connecticut (!) Loyalist, circa 1825. An 1832 map of Fredericton shows it as the only house in the block. The land purchase is recorded in the York County Registry Office records at PANB, Vol. 15, p. 64, the sale in Vol. 20, p. 609.

⁷ Hannah Ingraham died on 23 February 1869.

⁸ YCRD, Vol. 17, p. 19, PANB. He bought the land from James Huestis for £325.

During the winter of 1967 it was hauled across the river on a temporary road on the ice to become the great house in the historical village, King's Landing.

The Ira Ingraham family prospered. Ira bought more land on the island and purchased farms on the river in the upper end of the Parish of Queensbury for his sons, Sidney and John Barrett, when they should marry. The homestead was willed to Benjamin, Charles, and Henry, although sickly Henry did not live to receive his inheritance. Daughter Hannah did well, too; she married into the prosperous Hagerman family. Although Ira carried on an extensive farming operation, he found time for other pursuits as well. Finding suitable clay on his land, he soon got into the manufacture of bricks, some of which were utilized in the construction of the Lewis Huestis house on the next lot below, until the mid-twentieth century the only brick house on the left bank of the St. John between Fredericton and Woodstock.⁹ He also operated a small tannery, producing such items as harness and long-legged boots from the leather. Carpentry as well occupied some of his time, and, after the completion of his own house, he and John built another very similar in style and dimensions, in late years known as the Rosborough house and destroyed by fire in the 1960s. With his many and varied enterprises, Ira

⁹ This house was built in 1828 and was at one time the residence of the Hon. Thomas Temple. It was last occupied by Harvey C. Ingraham, brother of Harry L. Ingraham, descendants of Ira. The house was destroyed by fire in the mid 1960s.

succeeded in providing sufficient work to keep his six sons continually employed. Perhaps that is why they all remained on the land their father and grandfather had acquired in Queensbury, and it took more than another generation for this branch of the Ingraham family to reach out into other trades and professions.

John and Ann, too, spent the rest of their days on their land in Queensbury, but their family tended to spread out somewhat more than did Ira and Olive's. This may, perhaps, be partly explained by the fact that three of them married into the prolific Hammond family from the other side of the river and through them found access to opportunities in Kingsclear and Prince William.¹⁰ The eldest son, Ira, however, remained in Queensbury all the rest of his life; he became a leading citizen and in 1847 was appointed a justice of the peace for York County.¹¹ With John Clark, the third son, it was different; he commenced his married life, with his new wife Bathsheba Hammond, on a farm in Prince William.

¹⁰Three of John Ingraham's family married Hammonds. On 17 November 1829 Ira married Joanna Cook Hammond, daughter of the Rev. Lothrop Hammond and Bathsheba Joselyn. On 11 October 1832 John Clark Ingraham married Bathsheba Hull Hammond, a sister of Joanna. On 19 September 1832 Ann Ingraham married Simon Newcomb Hammond, son of Simon Newcomb Hammond and Joanna Andrew Joslin. All three Hammond spouses were descended from Archelaus Hammond of Kingsclear. He had come from Machias in present-day Maine to Cornwallis in Nova Scotia, thence to Gagetown, circa 1779. He was one of those dispossessed in 1783 to make room for the Loyalists; he was given a large grant in Kingsclear, to which he moved with his wife and twelve children.

¹¹New Brunswick Royal Gazette, 11 June 1847.

His property sold by the sheriff in 1841, he tried his hand as a miller at the mouth of the Nackawick. A few years later when his partner died, he abandoned the project and moved his family to Hodgdon, Maine, where he prospered and raised his family of eight, two of whom fought in the Civil War.¹²

George, the youngest son of John and Ann, also started his married life on a farm in Prince William but before long sold out and moved to Fredericton and later to Saint John. Perhaps John had made less adequate provision for the future of his family than had Ira, for it was John's sons who began the trend off the land and out of the parish, county, and province. John's daughters, too, left Queensbury, Ann to spend her short life across the river and Mamre, rumoured to have gone to Niagara, to end her days in Fredericton.¹³

Actually it was not until the early 1830s that John Ingraham began to expand into the parish of Prince William. In the year 1830 he and Ira, Benjamin's two sons, had practically all their land holdings concentrated in the parish of

¹² Eleazar and Ira fought in the Civil War. See Ingraham Genealogical Papers.

¹³ Ann married Simon Hammond and lived in Kingsclear. She died on 26 June 1838 at the age of 32 and only six years after her marriage. Her husband and her infant daughter had died only in May. A son had died in infancy a few years before. She was survived by her five-year-old daughter Mamre, who never married and spent most of her life as a teacher in Augusta, Maine. Mamre Ingraham was married on 25 July 1820 to George Morehouse, Esq., son of Daniel Morehouse, a justice of the peace and late of the Queen's Rangers. They are reported to have suffered from "Niagara fever" and moved to Upper Canada. If they did, and no proof has been found, they returned to New Brunswick, for both are buried in Forest Hill Cemetery in Fredericton.

Queensbury; now that the Fredericton farm had been sold, they owned between them a total of 1270 acres.

John and Ira, however, were not the land dealers that Abijah and some of his sons were. Abijah had seven sons, and by the close of the 1820s their land acquisitions were considerable.¹⁴ During the decade one son had bought 200 acres in Kingsclear and 294 in Queensbury.¹⁵ Another had purchased 300 acres in Prince William, and later 600 more in the same parish jointly with another brother.¹⁶ These 1396 acres brought the holdings of Abijah and his sons to a total of 5201 acres in 1830. Add to this the 1270 acres owned by Benjamin's sons and the total land in York County in 1830 in the possession of the Ingrahams was 6471 acres. In addition Abijah had petitioned for and received in 1819 a reserve of 1000 acres on the Pokiok "for the supply of a mill now owned by him on said Stream and another about to be built thereon."¹⁷

¹⁴ Sons of Abijah and Mary Moore Ingraham were as follows:--Charles, Nathaniel, John, Manuel, Peter, Benjamin, and Abijah.

¹⁵ On 18 May 1830 Charles Ingraham bought from William and Hannah Estey for £20 one-half of Estey's lot in Kingsclear at the rear of the lots of William Smith and John Barker, said to have been granted to John Estey, 200 acres (YCRD, Vol. 19, p. 292, PANB). In the autumn of 1830 Charles bought Lot 95 in Queensbury (YCRD, Vol. 18, p. 193, PANB).

¹⁶ On 14 May 1822 John Ingraham bought Lot B in Prince William from Samuel Tapley (YCRD, Vol. 12, p. 177, PANB). On 3 February 1825 John and Nathaniel Ingraham bought from Adam and Hannah Allan Lots 3 and 4 on the Pokiok, 600 acres (YCRD, Vol. 14, p. 404, PANB).

¹⁷ Journals of the Proceedings Respecting the Allotment of Lands, 18 August 1819, RG10, RS107, Vol. 22, p. 5, PANB.

Thus, the Ingrahams in 1830 had control of 7471 acres of land in York County.

While Benjamin and Abijah Ingraham were acquiring land and respectability in New Brunswick, their American brothers, Samuel and John, were pursuing their goals in the State of New York. Samuel, the elder of the two, perhaps because of a shortage of available land in New York east of the Hudson, perhaps because he, too, was imbued with the pioneering spirit, had not been content to remain in New Concord. He married Ruby Bump of Dutchess County and went there to live; his name appears on the census list of that county in 1790. By 1800 he was back in New Concord, living next door to his brother John. But not for long. Early in the nineteenth century he joined the trek west from New Concord and moved to Sherburne, Chenango County, New York. After trying several towns in the area he settled in Smithville, where he died in 1819.¹⁸

Samuel and Ruby had four sons and four daughters, many of whom married and settled down in western New York State. Their eldest son died in infancy, and two others went into the West at an early age and never came back.¹⁹ The third son, named Benjamin after his uncle, his grandfather, and his great grandfather, remained in western New York, married.

¹⁸ Nichols, Notes on the Ingraham Genealogy. Nichols was a great grandson of Samuel Ingraham.

¹⁹ Ibid.

twice, and fathered twelve children. For many years a weaver by trade, he lived almost a nomadic life, moving frequently from town to town--Sherburne, Truxton, Hamilton, Unadilla, Smithville, Cazenovia, farming for a time in Pompey and Delphi, and finally back to Cazenovia in his old age. Most of his daughters married and raised families in the area. Two of his sons died in early childhood and the third died childless in Colorado in the mid-thirties.²⁰ With him went the last of Samuel Ingraham's descendants bearing the Ingraham name.²¹

Like Benjamin and Abijah, Samuel Ingraham had reached out to a new frontier of civilization, albeit for a different reason perhaps. Unlike them he had not been interested or, if so, not successful in obtaining large tracts of land. Two

²⁰ Ibid. George Winfield Scott Ingraham was born at Pompey, N.Y. on 21 July 1850, the youngest child of Benjamin and Betsey Farr Ingraham, grandson of Samuel Ingraham and Ruby Bump. After graduating at Cazenovia Seminary in 1868 he went on to Cornell University, where he received his A.B. degree in 1871. He attended university in Germany from 1874 to 1876 when he was awarded the degree of Ph.D. at Wurzburg. After teaching a few years at Swarthmore College, he went to Colorado in 1880 for his health. He returned to university to study medicine and received his M.D. degree in 1882; he practised medicine in Colorado and Utah. However, the western climate did not have the anticipated beneficial effect on his health; nevertheless, he tried to carry on a normal life. He had fallen in love with a young lady whom he married on 21 October 1884. A week later, on 28 October 1884, he died.

²¹ Ibid. Two of Samuel Ingraham's sons went west. Nichols said: "James, supposed to have moved into the then west; married, and died when quite young, without issue. . . Darius, moved west when young, into the unsettled country; married."

sons and a grandson bearing the Ingraham name had followed the pioneering tradition and gone West. Furthermore, his children and grandchildren may have been somewhat quicker to desert the land as a means of earning a livelihood than those of his Loyalist brothers. One, his daughter's son bearing the name Ingraham Powers, became a Baptist minister in Otsego County. Another received his doctor of philosophy degree at Wurzburg University, became a professor at Swarthmore College and later a medical doctor in Colorado. A grand-daughter became the recorder in the County Clerk's Office in Syracuse.²²

John, the other Patriot Ingraham brother, lived all of his life in New Concord. He married Martha Clark and had three sons and three daughters. He died in New Concord (by then known as Chatham, Columbia County) in the 1830s, between seventy and eighty years of age. Martha died in her seventies, too, some time in the next decade.

Not much is known of John's children or indeed of John himself, but the scant records indicate that none of them did much of anything out of the ordinary. John himself remained on the same piece of land all his life. The only record of

²² Ibid. Helen Mar Ingraham, born 13 June 1844, was the recorder in the County Clerk's Office in Syracuse, N.Y. She was the daughter of Benjamin and Betsey Farr Ingraham. Her twin sister, Ellen Farr Ingraham Nichols, was the mother of Dr. John Benjamin Nichols of Washington, D.C., author of Notes on the Ingraham Genealogy. Samuel and Ruby Bump Ingraham's oldest daughter, Hannah, married William Powers and lived in Worcester, Otsego County, New York. Ingraham Powers, the Baptist minister, was their son.

his activities to be found is in the account books of some of the local merchants; he did not even run a large bill, and often sent his son to do his shopping. By 1810 all his daughters were gone from home; one son had left, one remained at home, and the third had not yet been born. In 1820 there were two sons at home, one in his twenties, the other five years old or younger. In 1830 both were still at home and unmarried, but in 1840, of the whole family, only Martha remained. The whereabouts and indeed the names of these two Ingrahams there are no records to disclose. No other Ingrahams are listed on the census in Columbia County. Perhaps they had joined relatives or friends in the western part of the State, but it seems improbable that both would leave their aging mother to fend for herself.²³

There is, however, some record of John and Martha's eldest son, who bore his father's name. John junior fought in the War of 1812 and applied for a pension many years later. He had moved west in the State, too, to Kortright in Delaware County. He and his first wife had four sons and three daughters; at least three of the sons settled in Delaware County (although one had moved on by 1850), one as a farmer, one as a harness-maker, and one at twenty-five a farm labourer,

²³Census Reports for Columbia County for the years 1790, 1800, 1810, 1820, 1830, 1840, and 1850.

probably saving his wages to buy land for himself.²⁴ Although some of Patriot John Ingraham's descendants were farmers, none seems to have possessed any extraordinarily large acreage; nor is there any record of any of them achieving any great success in the business or professional world.

Hannah Barrett, the sister of Benjamin, Abijah, Samuel, and John Ingraham, moved west from New Concord, too. The names of her husband, Joshua Barrett, and her three sons are listed among the householders on the 1820 census records for Worcester, Otsego County, New York. Two of the sons were still there in 1840, but by 1850 none were left in Otsego County; those who were still alive had probably been caught up in another migratory wave.²⁵

By the mid-nineteenth century, then, the descendants of Samuel and John Ingraham and of their sister, Hannah Barrett, had left Columbia County, the old King's District neighbourhood. Benjamin's family in New Brunswick, on the other

²⁴ John Ingraham (junior) appears on the census for Kortright, Delaware County in 1810, 1820, and 1830 and that for Colchester, Delaware County in 1840 and 1850. By 1850 his wife, Matilda Ruff Ingraham, was dead and John was remarried to Bethia Lake. In 1840 William Ingraham, farmer of Kortright, appears with his wife and family of five on the census--they have gone from the county by 1850. In 1850 John B. Ingraham, harness-maker of Roxbury appears, as does Charles Ingraham, farm laborer on the farm of Smith Tyler in Hancock.

²⁵ The three sons of Joshua and Hannah Ingraham Barrett were householders in Worcester, Otsego County--their names were William, Benjamin, and Abijah. None were there in 1850 but Abijah appeared on the census for Vestal, near Binghamton, N.Y.

hand, tended to remain nearer home. John, Hannah, and Ira stayed on the land in Queensbury; Ann had gone to Saint John with her husband. Most of Benjamin's grandchildren, too, remained on the land in Queensbury or just across the river-- as already noted, one had moved to Saint John and one to Hodgdon, Maine.²⁶ He was probably the first but certainly not the last of the Loyalist Ingrahams to return to the United States. Most of his family settled in eastern Maine, but one settled in North Dakota.²⁷

Benjamin's great grandchildren, too, tended to remain in New Brunswick. With the exception of the family in Hodgdon, the only one to go to the United States was the orphan granddaughter of John and Ann, who became a teacher in Augusta, Maine.²⁸ The others, however, while remaining in the province, began to desert the land as a means of earning a living. Most of these engaged in some sort of business enterprise, a salesman in Woodstock and one in Saint John, a merchant in Sussex and one in Marysville, a druggist in Saint

²⁶ John Clark Ingraham, son of John and Ann Clark Ingraham.

²⁷ John Clark and Bathsheba Hammond Ingraham had eight children, the first two born in Prince William, New Brunswick, the remainder in Hodgdon, Maine. Eleazar, born on 23 January 1841, fought in the Civil War, married, and lived in Portland, Maine. Ira, born on 12 August 1843, also fought in the Civil War; he remained unmarried and became a rancher in North Dakota.

²⁸ Mamre Hammond. See Note 13.

John, and a lawyer, magistrate, and judge in Fredericton.²⁹

But the majority were still on the land.

All eleven of Abijah's children remained in the province, all on the St. John, with the exception of one daughter who married and went with her husband to the Miramichi.³⁰ It was a different story, however, with their children, Abijah's grandchildren. Many of them went far afield. None seem to have gone to Upper Canada; those who left went to the United States, a few to New England but most to the American West.³¹ None went back to New York State in spite of the fact that they had cousins there. One surmises that the two branches of the Ingraham family had by this time completely lost touch with each other.

Three of Abijah's grandchildren went to New England, one to the Boston area and two to Maine. At least eleven went to the American West, a part of the same migratory movement as that which caught up their American cousins. Of the eleven, six settled in Minnesota; one each was claimed by Illinois, North Dakota, Nebraska, Montana and Idaho. There

²⁹Ingraham Genealogical Papers. Charles Sidney Ingraham was a teacher, lawyer, magistrate, and judge in Fredericton. He was the eldest son of Ira and Joanna Hammond Ingraham, grandson of John and Ann Clark Ingraham. For an account of his life see the Fredericton Daily Gleaner, 28 March 1895, 29 March 1895, and 1 April 1895.

³⁰Eunice Ingraham, daughter of Abijah and Mary Moore Ingraham, married on 1 June 1824 John Donald of Blissfield on the Miramichi and went there to live.

³¹Mamre Ingraham Morehouse may have gone to Upper Canada, but there is no proof that she did.

are on record approximately seventy grandchildren of Abijah Ingraham, counting those who died in infancy or early childhood. Of these at least fourteen went to live in the United States, twenty percent of them. More than fifteen per cent participated in the settling of the American West.³² The Loyalist tide which flowed into New Brunswick in 1783 was not irreversible; like any other tide it began to ebb, carrying with it in ever increasing numbers not only descendants of Benjamin and Abijah Ingraham but also throngs of those of countless other Tory refugees.

³² Calculations derived from information on individual families in the Ingraham Genealogical Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

Benjamin Ingraham, a New York farmer in the latter half of the eighteenth century, was neither rich nor powerful, influential nor college-bred; at the same time, neither was he penniless nor shiftless, ineffectual nor illiterate. Caught up in the political turbulence and turmoil which swept through the Thirteen Colonies in the 1770s, he was carried along the same course as countless other Loyalists to their eventual destination as expatriates from the new American nation. His experience was similar to that of thousands who supported the King's cause, but his responses to various challenges and opportunities were not necessarily the same. Consequently, while some failed miserably in their attempt to adjust to the new environment, Benjamin Ingraham, like many other common men who chose the King's side, emerged in the new frontier society as a prosperous and respected citizen.

Perhaps the most important decision of Benjamin Ingraham's life was made in 1776 when he began actively to support the Loyalist cause. The consequences of this choice were far-reaching, changing, as they did, the whole course of his life. His statement that "from the beginning of the late Trouble he attached himself to the Party of Government and refused to

join in any of the Cabals or unlawful Meetings of the Americans" might lead one to the conclusion that his stance was taken purely as the result of ideological considerations.¹

However, the choice for most Americans in the 1770s seems to have been far less simple than that. We have seen that in King's District, as late as 1775, all apparently supported the Government, even though they may have believed that many reforms were long overdue. Benjamin Ingraham, influenced by the teachings of the Anglican Church, no doubt was inclined towards the acceptance of the concepts of respect for authority and the maintenance of the status quo. More than likely he never even went to hear the exhortations of the Congregationalist Reverend Thomas Allen, which devout Anglicans could have regarded as nothing less than seditious. In all probability, Ingraham was profoundly influenced by John Savage, his neighbour and fellow parishioner, who, forced by circumstances to declare himself early in the struggle, became the dynamic and forceful leader of the Loyalists in New Concord. Benjamin Ingraham, along with many of the New Concord Anglicans, soon found himself involved with Savage in active support of the King's cause. Ingraham became a courier between the New Concord Loyalists and Colonel Skene, at the time a Loyalist prisoner in Connecticut. Eventually he was arrested by John Salisbury, another neighbour, and imprisoned. When he escaped from confinement, there was no switching sides for

¹Claims of the American Loyalists, Vol. 26, p. 23, Series I, MG14, A012, PAC.

him; he was committed to the cause. Psychologists have told us that "human action is never directly caused by situations; it is invariably mediated by psychological variables."² Certainly, circumstances and events played important roles in influencing Benjamin Ingraham's final decision, but his psychological make-up must not be neglected as a contributing factor. His choice, like that of the great body of Americans, Loyalist and Patriot alike, was the result of the play of a specific combination of circumstances and happenings on his particular temperament.

Benjamin Ingraham's decision for the Loyalist cause had a profound effect on the remainder of his life, the immediate aspect of which was his separation from his family while he fought for seven years in the Provincial Army. Had he supported the Patriots, even given lip service to them, or attempted to walk the tight rope of neutrality, he might have succeeded in remaining at home during the entire war, or at least most of it. Instead, he chose to fight for his King and saw action in most of the provinces along the coast from Rhode Island to Georgia. The adjustment from the virtual freedom of the frontier farmer to the rigid discipline demanded by the British army must have been difficult to make. Occasional hunger, the excesses of heat and cold, and other sorts

²N. E. H. Hull, Peter C. Hoffer, and Steven L. Allen, "Choosing Sides: A Quantitative Study of the Personality Determinants of Loyalist and Revolutionary Political Affiliation in New York," Journal of American History 65 (1978): 344.

of privation accompanying eighteenth century military life took their toll as did a number of stays in crude military hospitals for the treatment of wounds and sundry bouts of sickness. Army life, however, as his journal attested, was not all misery and gloom, for there was much to learn and enjoy especially in those parts of America which were remote and different from the Hudson valley. At the same time, Benjamin Ingraham devoted himself assiduously to his military duties; only a competent and dedicated soldier could have risen from the rank of private to that of sergeant, the highest rank attainable by a man of his education, social standing, and monetary means.

Benjamin Ingraham's decision altered the lives of the members of his immediate family as well. His wife Jerusha was left to fend for herself and their two small children for seven years on a ninety-acre farm. Although she did have some friends and relatives to lend an occasional hand, she was surrounded by hostile neighbours, who found her a convenient scapegoat for their bitterness against her husband, whom they regarded as a traitor to America. Soon after his departure most of Benjamin's personal property was confiscated by the local Committee, as was the farm itself a little later, and Jerusha was forced to pay rent on what she must have considered to be rightfully hers and her husband's. Immediate problems combined with worry over the dreary prospect of the future must have made her life very trying, indeed.

Nor did Jerusha's tribulations end with the return of

her husband in the late summer of 1783. Leaving New Concord could have been nothing short of a heart-rending and traumatic experience for all of them, parting as they were with home and loved ones in the almost certain knowledge that it was forever. Nevertheless, one cannot help wondering if, had they not been Loyalists and forced to leave, they would not have voluntarily formed part of the trek into western New York and been faced with farewells of a similar, although perhaps not quite so final, nature. And in the latter case they would have been traveling with friends and perhaps relatives, which would have made parting easier. But the Loyalists were not alone either. "Nova Scotia is the rage" and "Everybody, all the world, moves to Nova Scotia" were phrases on every one's lips in New York City in 1783.³ It is only fair to point out, however, that, while Benjamin knew practically the whole regiment, all were strangers to Jerusha and the children--for them a move westward in the State would probably have been easier.

There is no doubt that the Ingrahams, and particularly Jerusha and the children, suffered terribly during their first winter in New Brunswick. The climate was more severe than they were accustomed to, and they had had little time to prepare for it before leaving New Concord. The lateness of the

³Marcus Lee Hansen and John Bartlet Brebner, The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), p. 51.

season when they arrived in St. Ann's precluded the erection of anything but the rudest shelter before the winter cold and snow set in. In spite of the provisions they had brought with them and the rations supplied by the Government, they were at times hungry, and often they were cold and disillusioned and homesick. But life went on and time went on, and, as conditions in New Brunswick improved, the memories of New Concord must have dimmed and faded.

The Ingrahams made a success of their lives in New Brunswick. Both Benjamin and Abijah, as we have seen, were more successful in acquiring land than were most Loyalists in ordinary circumstances. The reasons, however, were far from obvious. Family size, of great significance on the frontier, was not an important factor in either case. Benjamin's two sons added no substantial acreage to the family land holdings between 1810 and 1830. Abijah's three oldest sons acquired nearly 1400 acres in the 1820s, but even without these their father was far ahead of the fourteen other Loyalists whose land holdings were considered. One suspects that the explanation lies to a great extent in motivation; the Ingraham brothers displayed a keen interest in acquiring land, whereas many of the others sought different avenues of success. The Ingrahams had come from King's District in the Hudson valley region of New York, where from the day of their arrival the new settlers had been in dispute with the patroons over the title to their lands; no doubt Benjamin and Abijah found the relative ease in obtaining clear title to land in

New Brunswick very appealing. As well they were members of a family in which the pioneering spirit seems to have been strong. After their arrival in America in the 1630s the Ingrahams had settled first in Rehoboth in the Plymouth colony and later migrated to Woodbury, Connecticut, thence to Derby in the same province, and finally up the Housatonic to New Concord, New York; as the family grew and branched out, other members spread out in various directions into unsettled country. As we have seen, members of the Patriot side of the immediate family moved farther west into the new areas of New York, and succeeding generations of both sides participated in the opening of the American West. However, all New Brunswick Loyalists had not been the products of a pioneering background. Many, particularly the disbanded soldiers, had come from towns like New York or Philadelphia and had had no experience with life on the farm; Benjamin and Abijah, on the other hand, had moved to New Concord as children and consequently had grown up in a frontier environment. Furthermore, there can be little doubt that both were industrious, shrewd, and resourceful, able to recognize and evaluate opportunities as they appeared and make the most of them. They were men of determination and conviction, reared in a frontier neighbourhood where manual labour, far from being demeaning, was an acceptable, even desirable, way of life.

"The history of the powerless, the inarticulate, the poor," Jesse B. Lemisch commented, "has not yet begun to be written because they have been treated no more fairly by

historians than they have been treated by their contemporaries."⁴ The historian is always tempted to select his topic from among the leaders of the period he concerns himself with, for it is they who leave behind the documents and records--it is much easier to research an Edward Winslow than a Benjamin Ingraham. Yet it was the Benjamin Ingrahams who subdued the wilderness of New Brunswick, who wore themselves out with toil and exertion in their unrelenting effort to provide a future for their children. It was the Benjamin Ingrahams who gave their unquestioning loyalty to the cause, whether Loyalist or Patriot, without perhaps fully understanding the issues that were at stake and who donated the best years of their lives to the settlement of these issues. It was the vast number of Benjamin Ingrahams who constituted the great frontier migrations which settled North America. They, too, just as much as their leaders, were moved by ideals and hopes and fears and frustrations; they, too, made their contribution to the taming and peopling of this continent. It is time that historians paid them more than scant attention, began to regard history from their point of view as well as that of the Washingtons and Carletons.

It seems reasonable to assume that the American Revolution had as great an impact on Benjamin Ingraham, farmer

⁴Jesse B. Lemisch, "The American Revolution Seen from the Bottom Up," in Barton J. Bernstein, ed., Towards a New Past: Dissenting Essays in American History (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 29.

and sergeant, as it did on any Loyalist patroon or general. Benjamin Ingraham, too, lost everything he had, of necessity fled from his home, and began a new life in a strange country. In some ways he seems to have been even worse off than most of the army officers--he had no influence with the authorities, he was entitled to no half-pay, he received a smaller land grant. But, at the same time, he had certain advantages, the main one being that he expected to do his own work with his own hands and knew how to do so; as a result, he was able to cope better with the challenges of the frontier, where labour was so scarce and expensive. Nevertheless, the trauma he suffered as the result of his expatriation was as great as that of his social superiors.

At the same time, it is difficult to see that Benjamin lost anything materially from espousing the Loyalist cause in the American Revolution. Many of the officers and "gentry" actually were losers, mainly because their expectations were higher and their frontier skills were lower. The case of Captain Atwood, formerly a leading officer in the King's American Regiment, serves as an illustration. Upon his death all his property went to his creditors to pay off his debts and was later bought by Abijah Ingraham, one time sergeant in his company. Both Benjamin and Abijah Ingraham appear to have been actually better off as a result of their Loyalist experience. Certainly, their life during their years in the Provincial Army was not without its trials, but it was undoubtedly superior to that of the soldiers on the other

side. Although on occasion rations were in short supply, they were fed, clothed, and housed relatively well by the military standards of the day. Never were they barefooted or in want of adequate clothing as the Continentals often were; never did they suffer anything comparable to the privation of the Continentals during their horrendous winter at Valley Forge. To compensate for their confiscated farms they received grants in New Brunswick three or four times the size of the property they had lost. In addition, as has been seen, both acquired in their new province huge tracts of land, an achievement which would have been quite impossible in King's District, an achievement which proved quite impossible for their Patriot brothers in the State of New York, and which would have been quite valueless had they not been endowed with the energy, initiative, and ability to cultivate it. The result was that they soon were able to provide for themselves in New Brunswick a rich and abundant life, perhaps even superior to that of their brothers in New York.

Success, however, lies within the reach only of those with the desire and ability to grasp it. Consequently, not all Loyalists in British North America succeeded; many proved themselves quite incapable of meeting the challenges of their new environment. Benjamin Ingraham was not one of those; he seems to have succeeded at whatever he attempted. He reached the highest rank available to him in the army. Instead of lingering all winter at the mouth of the St. John like most of his regiment, he set out for St. Ann's at the first

opportunity. He soon provided a cabin, rough as it was, for the shelter of his family, while most of the St. Ann's Loyalists shivered all winter long in army tents. He wasted no time in the spring, getting some land cleared and crops planted as early as the season would permit. When he was not working on his own land, he devoted his energy to procuring some of that scarce commodity on the frontier, money; this he accomplished by selling excess produce, building bridges for the Government on the new highways, and working for the "gentry." He made the most of every opportunity to increase his acreage until he had land holdings substantially in excess of the average. The results of his initiative, industry, and foresight were prosperity and respect. One mark of the latter was his election to the vestry of Christ Church in Fredericton along with men of influence and high position in the town. His character and ability were such that he succeeded where many others who started out in like circumstances on the St. John failed.

A study of the experience of an ordinary Loyalist like Benjamin Ingraham provides a method of examining the validity of the "Loyalist myth." How do the various aspects of the "myth" appear when viewed in the light of the circumstances and events of Benjamin Ingraham's life? To begin with, it certainly was not solely "for the sake of his principles" that Ingraham migrated to the New Brunswick wilderness; the fact that he was driven out of New Concord had a great deal to do with his move. Here was a Loyalist who was

not socially prominent in the province of New York, who was not totally "uncritical of the British authority" he was subject to. Likewise, some of his colleagues demonstrated in that first New Brunswick election that they were not willing to bow unquestioningly to authority, British or otherwise. Others showed that there were Loyalists who could break the law, commit crimes, fall into debt, and cheat on their rations. In short, Benjamin Ingraham and his colleagues comprised a cross section of American society. Most of them suffered, during the first year particularly, but the degree of that suffering varied from individual to individual, according to circumstances or ability or initiative. The experience of Benjamin Ingraham casts grave doubts on the validity of the "Loyalist myth." Rather than the saints and heroes suggested by the "myth," they were a group of people who supported a lost cause, who were on the wrong side of the political fence, who represented all facets of American society, black and white, rich and poor, educated and ignorant, intelligent and stupid, industrious and lazy, moral and unprincipled. Surely, they bore a close resemblance to any other group of political refugees who have been forced to seek asylum outside their own country.

Some historians have extended certain aspects of the frontier thesis of American history to the migration of the Loyalists. Marcus Lee Hansen in The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples wrote: "It is a mistake to think that the American Revolution brought about the occupation of the

northeastern region. Actually its preliminaries and its course hampered it for about fifteen years. What the Revolution did was to exercise a selective process upon a logical movement of the American population."⁵ According to this, Benjamin and Abijah Ingraham were selected for the northeastern migration along political lines. There were New Englanders in the province before the outbreak of the Revolution, particularly in Maugerville and Sheffield on the St. John just below Fredericton. The few who arrived during the Revolution, like the Clarks who married into the Ingraham family, were mainly "disaffected" Americans who considered it wise to flee. The Patriot Ingrahams, on the other hand, Samuel, Hannah Ingraham Barrett, and the sons of John, formed part of the migration into western New York, which reached its peak twenty to thirty years after the close of the Revolutionary War and which claimed large numbers of land-seekers from the eastern part of the State. The census lists for 1810, 1820, and 1830 for Chenango, Otsego, Delaware, and other western counties in the State read like that of 1790 Columbia County. However, Ingrahams from both sides of the border formed part of the great migration into the American West in the second and third quarters of the nineteenth century. Which side their ancestors had taken in the struggle for independence made remarkably little difference--opportunity.

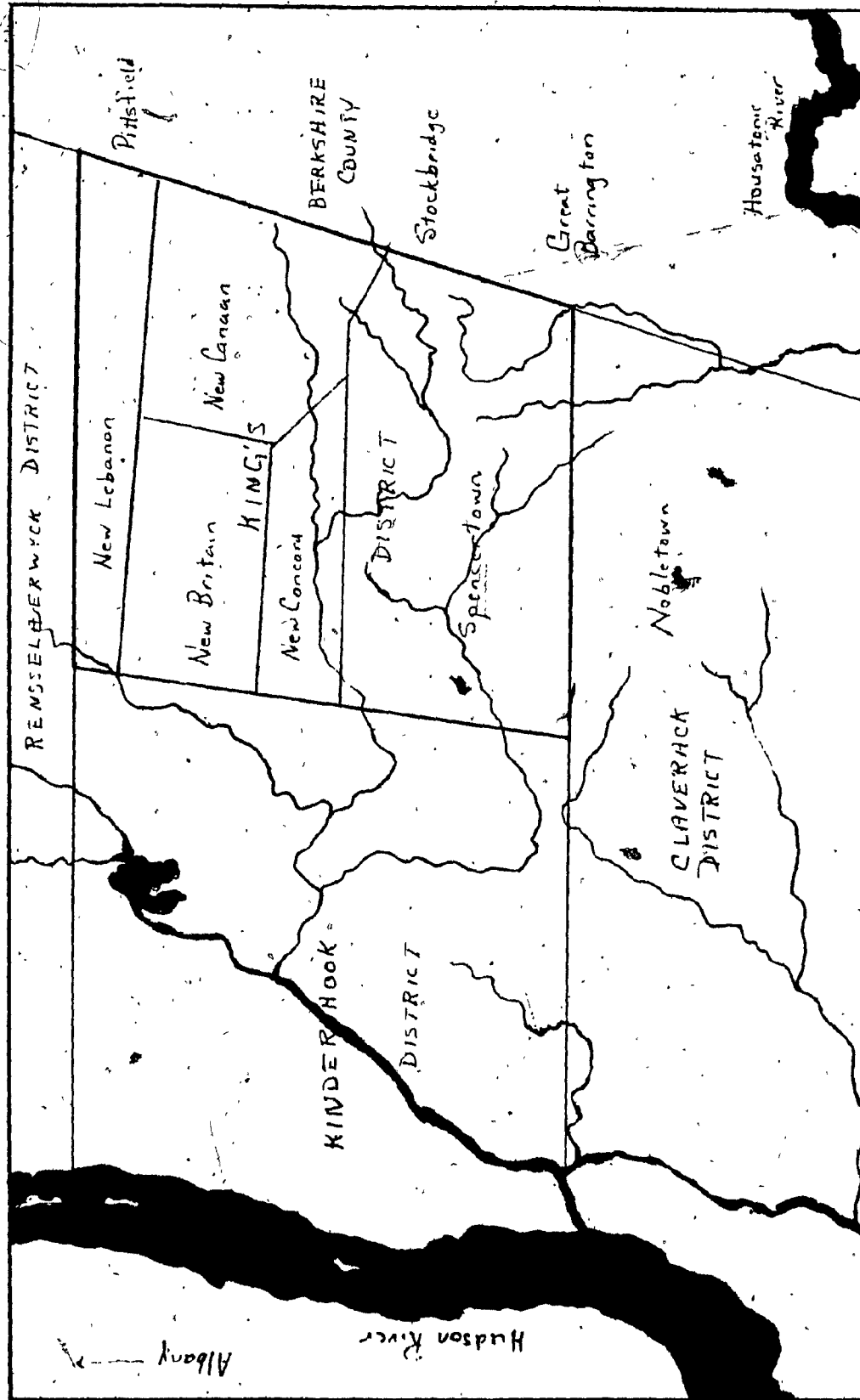
⁵Hansen and Brebner, The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples, p. 56.

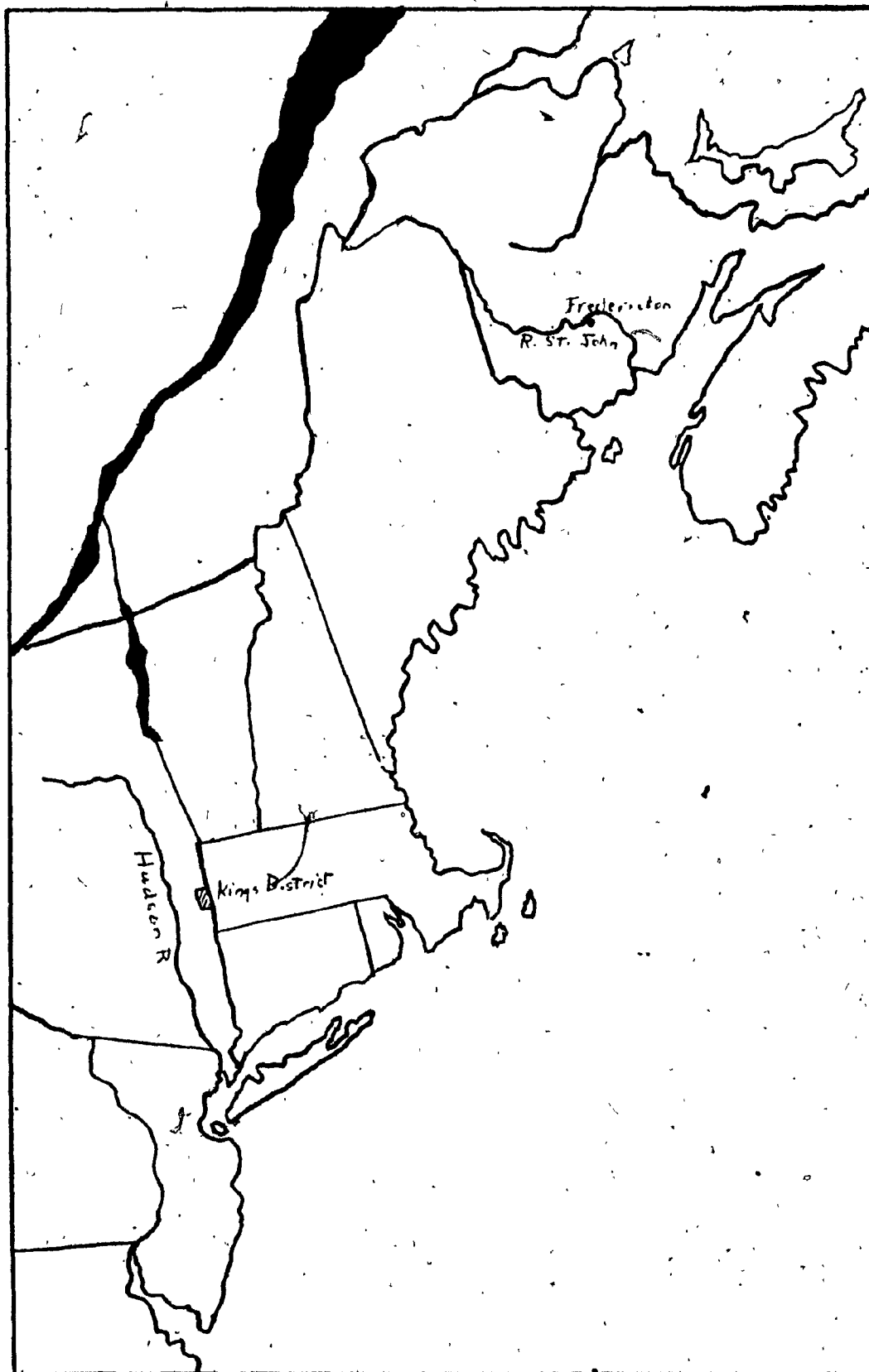
and excitement beckoned and politics was discarded or forgotten. It is interesting to note that the Ingrahams known to have fought in the Civil War were descended from the Loyalist side of the family! The experience of the Ingraham family seems to indicate that there is some validity in Hansen's observation.

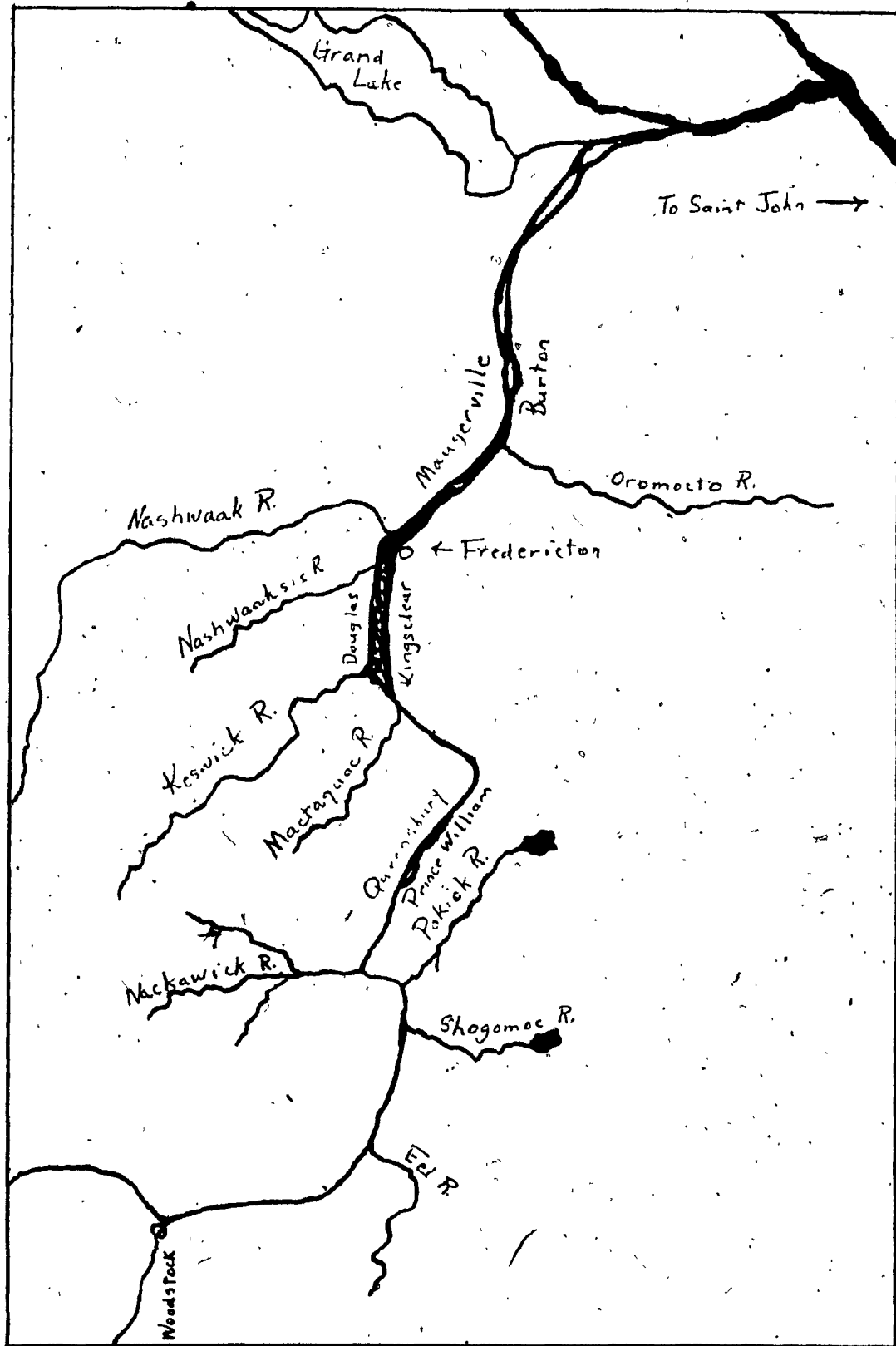
The population movements which characterized the history of the North American continent were composed of ordinary men like Benjamin Ingraham. His story is more or less representative of those of thousands of other Americans who participated in the migration of 1783, who must have had similar motives, beliefs, hopes, defeats, triumphs, and tribulations. An understanding of Benjamin Ingraham's experience cannot fail to provide further insight into the lives and contributions of the multitudes of ordinary Loyalists, thus affording the reader a broader perception of this particular period in our history. "The American Revolution," Lemisch wrote, "can best be re-examined from a point of view which assumes that all men are created equal, and rational, and that since they can think and reason they can make their own history."⁶

⁶Lemisch, "The American Revolution Seen from the Bottom Up," p. 29.

APPENDIX.







The River St. John

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